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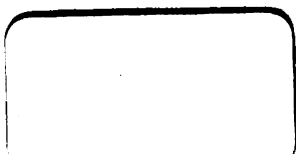
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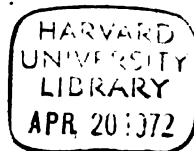
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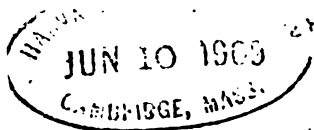
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THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

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THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN ALGONKINS¹

BY ROLAND B. DIXON

IN attempting to make a comparative study of the myths of the various tribes belonging to the Central and Eastern Algonkins, a serious difficulty presents itself at the outset. This difficulty consists in the fact that the record is very incomplete, for our knowledge of the mythology of most of the tribes considered is far from being thorough, and the character of the information from different tribes is very varied. From some, as the Micmac, Abnaki, Ojibwa, and Fox, a considerable mass and variety of tales are known; but from others, as the Pottawatami, only a small amount of material is at hand, and that wholly relating to the culture-hero. In spite, however, of the inadequacy of the data available at present, results of some interest may be obtained by a careful comparison.

Such a comparison may be made in various ways. We may, for example, consider the matter only from the numerical point of view, and determine the proportional number of incidents which the various tribes hold in common, each with each. We may add to this a consideration of the class or type of incident thus shared. Or we may make a special study of a group of incidents, such as those clustering about the culture-hero and his brother. Or, again, we may note the distribution within the area involved, of certain particular incidents which have wide affiliations elsewhere. All of these methods lead to results which are of value.

For purposes of convenience, the Algonkin tribes here discussed may be divided into four geographical groups, — a Western, comprising the western Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, Menomini, Pottawatami, and Fox; a Central, made up of the Mississagua and Ottawa; an Eastern, including the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maliseet; and a Northeastern, including the Nenenot or Nascopi of Labrador and the Montagnais.²

¹ Address of the retiring President, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society in Baltimore, December 30, 1908.

² In this grouping, the term "Ojibwa" includes the portion of the tribe now and for many years resident in the United States, the myth material being mainly that

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Journal of American Folk-Lore

Beginning with the mere numerical comparison, and taking the Western group first, it appears that their mythologies are closely related to one another, each tribe sharing with the other members of the group by far the majority of its myth incidents. The two most closely allied are the Saulteaux and Menomini, each having with the other a larger number of agreements than with any other single tribe. The Cree find their closest affiliation with the Ojibwa, and also have much in common with the Saulteaux-Menomini pair just spoken of. Although the Cree, Saulteaux, and Menomini do not show any very close analogy to the eastern Algonkins, the Ojibwa, on the contrary, does, having a larger number of correspondences with the Micmac than with any single tribe in its own or Western group. Next to this eastern affiliation, however, it shows its closest relations to the Cree and Menomini. The Fox has most in common with the Ojibwa and Menomini, but shows, like the Ojibwa, a notable number of incidents similar to those of the Micmac and Abnaki, in each case a larger number than with either the Cree or Saulteaux.

With the tribes of the Central group, the affiliations of these Western tribes are strong, more noticeable with the Mississagua than with the Ottawa. With the Northeastern group, the only one to show any considerable similarity is the Cree.

The relations of the members of the Western group to the Huron-Iroquois may next be considered. The Ojibwa, it will be remembered, were conspicuous in showing the closest approach to the Eastern Algonkins, and they are equally so in the number of agreements which they show with the Iroquoian tribes, showing a somewhat greater degree of similarity with the Iroquois proper than with the Wyandot-Huron. The Fox come next in the number of Iroquoian affiliations, while the Pottawatami present the curious situation of having more in common with the Iroquoian peoples than with the Algonkins taken all together. This seeming anomaly is due, probably, to the fact that the Pottawatami material known to me relates only to the culture-hero.

The Central group comprises the Mississagua and Ottawa, and shows, as a whole, strong affiliations with the Western group. Curiously, the Mississagua and Ottawa show less agreement with each other than each does with the Western tribes. Little similarity seems to exist with the Eastern group; the Ottawa, however, having a greater agreement in this case than the Mississagua, although the latter is most closely related to the Ojibwa, whose closest affiliation was with the Micmac. The Central group is obtained by Schoolcraft. This is separated — perhaps with but little justification — from the Saulteaux, who, while a portion of the same tribe, are the Canadian branch living on reservations to the northeast of Lake Winnipeg. The Mississagua, although again a sub-tribe of the Ojibwa, are treated separately, as they occupied the region east of the Sault, and seem to present enough differences from the other portions of the tribe to warrant individual attention.

tral group shows nothing in common with the Northeastern. With Iroquoian tribes, the Ottawa presents most incidents in common, and, as might be expected, with the Huron rather than with the Iroquois.

The members of the Eastern group — comprising the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maleseet — show a strong agreement among themselves, as might be expected, the Maleseet agreeing rather more closely with the Abnaki than with the Micmac. With the Central group there is little in common, and Micmac and Abnaki do not differ much in the degree of their similarity to the two Central tribes. With the Western group the affiliation is much stronger, and lies almost wholly with the Ojibwa, Menomini, and Fox. There is, moreover, a great difference in respect to this agreement as between the Micmac and Abnaki, the former showing twice as many incidents in common with the Western tribes as the latter. With the Northeastern group no considerable similarities have been noted.

The Iroquoian agreements which the tribes of the Eastern group show are, on the whole, somewhat stronger with the Iroquois than with the Wyandot-Huron, and the Micmac has slightly more such common incidents than the Abnaki, as many indeed as it has with the Fox or Menomini of the Western group.

The material from the Northeastern tribes is almost wholly from the Nenenot or Nascopi, and this shows a predominant similarity with the Cree and Western group.

In considering the affiliations of the various tribes and groups thus far, account has been taken merely of the relationship as shown by the total number of incidents held in common. These incidents are, however, of two classes, — those relating to the culture-hero and having a place in the cycle of tales which cluster about him; and, on the other hand, all other incidents. From the previous merely numerical comparisons, it appeared that the Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, Menomini, and Fox formed a well-marked group, having each with the others a majority of elements in common. Examining now the classes of incidents represented, it appears that primary importance must be given to those incidents relating to the culture-hero, the number of these found in common being larger than those of the other class. In some cases, indeed, they are the only features which show similarity, as for instance between the Cree and Saulteaux, or the Saulteaux and Fox.

The results of a study of these incidents may be best discussed by considering each of the various tribes briefly in its relations to the others within and without the group. The Cree thus exhibits a closer agreement in the culture-hero elements with the Saulteaux and Menomini than with the Ojibwa, agreeing least of all in this respect with the Fox. Outside the culture-hero incidents, however, the position is nearly reversed, for with the Ojibwa it shows fourteen common incidents,

whereas with the Menomini it has but three, and with the Saulteaux none. With the Fox it shows the same degree of similarity as with the Menomini. Thus Cree resembles the Saulteaux-Menomini most in its culture-hero myths, the Ojibwa most in all others. The Saulteaux shows a close agreement with the Menomini in both culture-hero and other elements, and has the same non-culture-hero incidents in common with it as with the Cree and Ojibwa. With the Fox the only points of contact are those relating to the culture-hero. The Ojibwa has, as just stated, beside the culture-hero incidents, a large number of others in common with the Cree. Its relation to Menomini is similar; but whereas the culture-hero incidents common to Ojibwa and Cree, and Ojibwa and Menomini are for the most part the same, the non-culture-hero elements are almost entirely different in the two cases. With the Fox, there are more non-culture-hero agreements than in those relating to the culture-hero, and a considerable number are again different from those in common either with the Cree or the Menomini. In regard to the Menomini, it is only necessary to point out that in so far as the non-culture-hero incidents are concerned, it shows one set with the Cree-Saulteaux-Ojibwa, but has a wholly different set in common with the Fox. The Fox, lastly, has only culture-hero incidents in common with the Saulteaux, while the non-culture-hero elements it has in common with the Cree-Ojibwa are almost wholly different from those with the Menomini.

In their affiliations with the other Algonkin tribes, a number of points may be noted. Cree shows no resemblance to the Ottawa outside the culture-hero class, although with Mississagua it has several such similarities. With the Eastern group it has few not relating to the culture-hero, and a similar condition is found relative to the Northeastern tribes. Saulteaux shows no agreements with the Central group outside the culture-hero class, and with the Eastern group but a single incident. The Ojibwa shows agreement with the Central group in both classes; but it may be noted, that, with one exception, the non-culture-hero elements held in common are different in the case of the Ottawa from that of the Mississagua. It will be remembered that the Ojibwa showed, on merely numerical grounds, very strong resemblances to the Micmac. It appears that these agreements lie almost wholly in the incidents having nothing to do with the culture-hero cycle, and that but few of the latter are found alike in the two tribes. About half of the incidents common to Ojibwa and Micmac appear to be typical Eastern incidents, and do not occur among any other Western tribe. The remainder are found also among either the Central group or the Iroquois, or, in two cases, in one other Western tribe. The Ojibwa similarity to the Eastern group lies thus almost wholly outside the culture-hero class, and to a large extent the common incidents are found among the Western tribes only in the Ojibwa. The Fox is in a somewhat similar position, in that

its agreement with the Central and particularly the Eastern group are nearly all outside the culture-hero cycle, but the incidents which it thus shares are mainly different from those which the Ojibwa shares with the Eastern group. Thus the Ojibwa and Micmac have in common the "bungling host," "cold driven away by heat," "disobedience punished," "the obliging ferryman," "freezing-test," "magic growth of attendant animals," "Orpheus and Eurydice," and "thrown-away;" whereas Fox and the Eastern group have in common the "bungling host," "the heat test," "rolling skull," "trail shortened," "water from belly," "Atalanta flight," and the Symplegades. The Menomini finally shows relationship with the Central group mainly in its culture-hero incidents, but in relation to the Eastern group agrees with the Ojibwa and Fox, in that the similarities are mainly outside this class of incident. In brief, then, it appears that the Western tribes which show similarity to the Eastern Algonkins do so mainly in those elements outside the culture-hero class, and that the Ojibwa and Fox, which show the strongest Eastern agreements, have different elements in common in each case.

The Central group may be dismissed in a few words. The Ottawa shows the greatest agreement with the Eastern tribes outside the culture-hero class. The Mississagua has little or nothing in common with either type. The relationships of the Eastern and Western groups have already been discussed. The Northeastern shows more similarities with both Western and Eastern outside the culture-hero type than within it, the culture-hero agreements being fewer with the Eastern than with the Western tribes.

Something may be said in regard to the Iroquoian similarities. Cree shows in its few correspondences both classes of incidents, those relating to the culture-hero being in the minority. *Saulteaux* reverses this, having little in common except culture-hero elements. The Ojibwa is like the Cree, and the Fox is largely the same, but several of the incidents are quite typically Iroquoian. Menomini is largely like Ojibwa, but lacks the characteristic Iroquoian elements found in the Fox. Of the Central group, the Ottawa shows a wider range of agreement than does the Mississagua. The Eastern Algonkins exhibit a wide range of agreement, but are notable for the prominence of several culture-hero elements which are typically Iroquoian.

In the mythology of the Algonkin tribes, the cycle of myths which centres about the twin brothers may be said to be of greatest importance. In discussing the relation of these various tribes in so far as their myths are concerned, this cycle is of especial value, and deserves separate consideration. Professor Chamberlain in 1891, in a paper read before this Society, made comparisons between some of the members of the Western and Central groups, but did not include the Eastern or Northeastern tribes, or the Iroquois. It is of course true, that it is at times difficult to

say what shall be considered a part of this class of tales, as what in one tribe is told of the culture-hero may in another be attached to a different personage. For convenience, however, I have treated all incidents which are habitually attributed to the culture-hero by any tribe, as culture-hero incidents. There is, moreover, the further difficulty that various versions of a tale within the same tribe may vary considerably in the number and character of incidents included, and in such cases I have taken all incidents in all the various versions.

At the outset we may divide the whole mass of these tales into two parts, — those which form a more or less connected series recounting the birth and adventures of the two brothers, ending with the deluge and the re-creation of the world; and, on the other hand, those other tales which recount the exploits of the culture-hero alone, some of which are of the trickster type.

Taking first this more or less connected cycle, we may separate it, for purposes of comparisons, into four portions, — the origin and birth of the hero and his brother or brothers; the brother's death; the deluge; and the re-creation of the world. As a whole, the cycle as told shows two contrasting forms, an Eastern and a Western. Considering the latter of these, it is evident, that so far as the first part of the cycle is concerned, there is considerable variation. The Ojibwa, Menomini, Pottawatami, and Ottawa have in common the two incidents of the virgin or abnormal birth and the death of the mother. These features are lacking in the Fox, while there are no tales relative to the origin of the culture-hero given from the Cree or Saukteaux. While the Ojibwa, Menomini, and Ottawa agree in there being but two brothers, Fox and Pottawatami both speak of four. Menomini and Ottawa agree in associating the younger brother with the wolf, whereas the former stands alone in having one of the brothers die at birth, to be later resuscitated as a companion for the other. The most noteworthy difference, however, in this first portion of the cycle, lies in the appearance among the Pottawatami and Ottawa of the Flintman as one of the brothers; of his opposition and enmity to the culture-hero; and final destruction by the latter, as a result of what may be called the "deceitful confidence." These various elements are typically Iroquoian, and are found most fully developed, apparently, among the Wyandot-Huron.

The second part of the cycle also shows variety. Among the Menomini and Pottawatami, the Ojibwa and Ottawa, the culture-hero's brother is killed by evil water-frequenting manitous, when the brother, neglecting his elder brother's warning, crosses a lake on the ice. The Menomini and Pottawatami agree in the return of the brother in the form of a ghost, and in his departure westward to be the guardian of the land of the dead. These elements do not appear in the Ojibwa or Ottawa, however. A somewhat different combination appears in the Fox, where the

incident of the lake does not occur, the manitous killing the culture-hero's brother, after decoying him away to a distance. The incident of the ghost's return is, however, present. The affiliation of the Cree-Saulteaux in this portion of the cycle is again unknown, for lack of any data.

For the third part there is fuller material, as, although the incidents are not available from the Pottawatami, both Cree and Saulteaux may here be taken count of. As far as regards the incident of the "bird informant," Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, and Fox stand together. In the "stump disguise" and the wounding of the manitous, all are in accord except the Fox, which has here the unique incident of the floating spider-web. The Menomini has also a special incident in the introduction of the ball-game. In the impersonation of the Frog shaman by the culture-hero, and his subsequent completion of the revenge by killing the manitous, all are in accord except the Ottawa, which lacks this incident. All in all, the Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, and Menomini are in closest agreement in this part of the cycle.

In the essential elements of the deluge, the escape from it, the "earth-diver," and the reconstruction of the world, all the tribes are in substantial accord. The Menomini-Ojibwa alone have the incident of the stretching tree, and the Cree-Ojibwa alone tell of the measuring of the new earth by the wolf. Taken as a whole, all the members of the Western and Central groups form a fairly accordant body. The Fox, having several unique features, stands somewhat apart, as does the Pottawatami, by reason of its strong Iroquoian element.

Turning now to the Eastern tribes, it appears at a glance that there is little in common with the tribes just discussed. There is here the incident of the abnormal birth, but this is also found among the Iroquois and widely elsewhere. Among the Abnaki there is the association of the culture-hero's brother with the wolf, but all the remainder of the cycle is missing. The only other points of contact with the cycle as described lie in the opposition of the two brothers, and the slaying of one by the other as a result of the "deceitful confidence." These incidents are, however, typically Iroquoian, and are found only in the Ottawa and Pottawatami farther West. Practically, therefore, we may say that the cycle found in fairly accordant form through the West is here wholly lacking.

In a consideration of the other incidents relating to the culture-hero, we unfortunately have little information relating to the Pottawatami or the tribes of the Central group, and must thus confine the comparisons largely to the other Western tribes and those of the East. Of incidents not falling into the connected cycle just discussed, there are about eighteen, an investigation of whose distribution reveals the following points. About half of these, including such as the "hoodwinked dancers," "stolen feast," "rolling rock," "body punished," "reflection deceives," "tree holds prisoner," and "sun-trap," are common to a group composed

of the Cree, Saukteaux, Fox, and Menomini, the Ojibwa having but three out of eight. The other half, including the "wolf companions," Jonah, Hippogrif, "caught by the head," "visit to the culture-hero," and "bungling host," are common to the group made up of the Saukteaux, Ojibwa, Fox, and Menomini. In other words, the Saukteaux-Menomini-Fox have a series of about eighteen incidents in common, one half of which are also found among the Cree, and the other half among the Ojibwa.

With the Eastern group there is almost as slight an agreement in this class of incidents as in the connected cycle. Four incidents only are found to agree,—the "hoodwinked dancers," "rolling rock," "visit to the culture-hero," and "bungling host." The latter, at least, is of such very wide distribution that its importance in this case may be regarded as slight.

An extensive comparison of the incidents found among the Algonkins here described, with those of other tribes, such as those in the Plains, the Southwest, or the Pacific Coast, has not been made, but a few general statements may be made. The connected cycle of incidents seems to be quite clearly typical of the tribes living near the Great Lakes. We find the greater part of it among the Blackfeet, although lacking among the Arapaho and Cheyenne, showing either the longer residence of these latter tribes in the Plains, or their greater impressibility to the mythology of the Plains type. A portion appears among the Siouan tribes, where it occurs in the Iowa and Omaha. The other disconnected tales of the culture-hero cannot, however, be regarded as very distinctive. Many of the incidents, such as the "bungling host," are of very wide distribution over the whole continent; and others, although not so widely spread, still are found among a large number of tribes outside this area.

From the foregoing study of the incidents in the mythology of the Eastern Algonkin tribes, a few general conclusions may be drawn. The Cree, Saukteaux, and Menomini form a closely related group, with which the Mississagua shows much in common. The Ojibwa stands somewhat apart, being connected with the group, and particularly with the Cree, largely by its culture-hero elements, and showing a strong similarity to the Eastern group of the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maleseet in so far as regards the non-culture-hero elements. It also has more affiliations with the Iroquoian tribes than any other in the whole Western group. Fox and Pottawatami, although closely agreeing with the group of the Cree-Saukteaux-Menomini in so far as the connected cycle of culture-hero incidents goes, yet present sufficient differences to make it necessary to regard them as forming a separate subdivision. The Eastern tribes make up a pretty coherent group, for the most part unrelated to the Western, in which, however, the Micmac stands out markedly, by reason of its strong similarities to Western, particularly Ojibwa, elements. The

Pottawatami and Ottawa have both incorporated in their cycle of culture-hero tales the typical Iroquoian incidents relating to Flintman, many of which have also found place among the Eastern tribes.

These various results are, it would seem, corroborated and partially explained by the history of the various tribes. Although the Menomini were in historical times close to the Pottawatamis in northern Wisconsin, they appear to have lived earlier on the southern side of the Sault in the northern peninsula of Michigan, being thus in close proximity to the Saulteaux and Ojibwa, with whom their closest affiliations have been found to exist. The Pottawatami and Fox, on the other hand, were immigrants in the region west of Lake Michigan. By tradition they had come from the eastern side of the lake, the former presumably around its southern end, as the Pottawatami formerly occupied much of southern Michigan. This brings them in contact with the Neutrals and other tribes of Iroquoian stock about the western end of Lake Erie, which would seem to explain the appearance of the Iroquoian Flintman incidents in their mythology. The Ottawa were in the seventeenth century closely allied with the Hurons, and the Iroquoian similarities noted may thus reasonably be accounted for.

The eastern affiliations of the Ojibwa may perhaps be explained as follows. Traditionally the Ojibwa had moved west, from a position much farther to the east, and north of the St. Lawrence; this would bring them closer to the Micmac geographically, with whom, and not with the Abnaki, their agreements are found. A further point worth noting is the slight degree of similarity existing between the Labrador Algonkins and the Micmac, who were their neighbors in historic times at least, on the south side of the St. Lawrence. It has been thought by some that the Micmac came to their historic positions from the north or northwest, but so far as mythology is any guide, this conclusion seems unfounded, and everything points to a different series of affiliations and line of migration.

As stated at the outset, conclusions based on material at hand relating to Algonkin mythology are somewhat premature, data being wholly lacking for many tribes, and for some being too meagre and too much restricted in character to be satisfactory. Nevertheless I believe such an attempt is helpful, if it does no more than call attention to the gaps in our knowledge, and induce students to try to procure sufficient material to make such comparisons of lasting worth.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

ESKIMO AND ALEUT STORIES FROM ALASKA

BY F. A. GOLDER

I. THE WOMAN WHO BECAME A BEAR

(Kodiak Story)

ON the bank of a river lived a man with his wife and several small children. One day the husband told his wife that he was ill and going to die, and requested her that when dead she should leave him on the ground uncovered, with his bidarka and bow and arrows near him. The next morning she found him dead, and she did with him as he had asked. For three days the body rested where she had left it, and around it she with her children sat weeping. But on the morning of the fourth not a sign of the body or boat was to be seen. She puzzled over the matter for a time, but the calls of her children for food kept her from brooding over it too long.

Not many days after this mysterious disappearance, a little bird settled on the barabara and sang. Although the woman listened attentively, she could not make out what it said. About the same time on the succeeding day the little bird sang again; but this time the woman thought she heard the bird say, "Your husband is not dead. He is living with another woman at the mouth of the river." This same song was repeated on the third morning. Hearing this sad news, the woman felt very bitter towards her husband, and she wept a great deal. She spent the rest of the day in preparing food for her children to last them three days, and early next morning set out for the mouth of the river. From the top of every hill she searched diligently for signs of habitation. Towards noon she sighted a hut, to which she walked and went in.

There she was greeted by a very beautiful woman, whose skin was white, and who sat on the floor (with the knees under the chin) making mats. The new-comer inquired of the white-skinned woman whether she was married. "Yes, my husband is hunting and will be back this evening." As the hostess knew nothing at all of the history of her visitor, she treated her hospitably, setting food before her, and for a time they chatted very pleasantly. In the course of the conversation the white-skinned woman asked the other one what she did to make her cheeks look red. "That's very simple," replied the visitor; "I boil a pot of water, and hold my face over it until it turns red."

"I think I will do that, too; it will make my husband love me more," said White-Skin. She boiled a pot of water and held her face over it. Red-Skin encouraged her in this, telling her how beautiful she was becoming, but at the same time advised her to bend over a little more. Not suspecting treachery, she leaned over; and Red-Skin, who stood directly

behind her, pushed the face of the woman into the boiling water and kept it there until life was gone. The dead woman was then fixed up in a sitting posture.

In the hut the deserted wife came across a piece of skin of a bear's face with the nose on it. She chewed and stretched it to make it cover her whole body, when she looked and felt like a bear. On each of her sides she put a flat rock, and went outside to wait for her husband, who appeared towards evening with a load of game.

"Come out, my lovely one," he called, "and see how much game I brought." No one answered; so he called again, "Why don't you come out as you always do?" He became angry and walked into the hut, where a painful sight stared him in the face. "I know who did it — my other wife. She shall pay for it." He took his bow and arrows and started for his former home; but when not far from the hut a bear crossed his path. He said, "It was not my wife after all, but this bear who tore the skin from her face." Taking aim, he shot an arrow at the heart of the bear, but it rebounded on coming in contact with the rock. All the other arrows were wasted the same way without doing the bear any injury. The bear took off the skin, and the hunter recognized his wife.

"That's the way you treated me," she cried. "You made believe you were dead, and left me to provide for the children while you were living with another woman." She abused him until he begged for pardon and mercy and promised to be faithful in the future. His pleadings were, however, to no purpose. She put on her bear-skin, and thus becoming as savage as a bear, she rushed for him and tore him in pieces. With his blood on her, she ran home and destroyed her children in the same savage manner, and then ran away to the woods to live with other bears.

2. THE OLD MAN OF THE VOLCANO

(Told as a Nushigah story by a native of Karluk)

On the eastern side of a river was situated a populous village; on the western bank there was but one barabara in which lived an old couple with their son. The old people were feeble, and did not think they had long to live; they therefore asked their son to go over to the village and get married. He did as he was bidden, crossed over, married, and came back with a wife. Not long after this event the father and mother died, leaving the young couple alone. At the end of the first year of the marriage a daughter was born, who, after being bathed two or three times, began to talk. Another year passed, and a little boy came to the family. As the children grew up the father became very fond of them, particularly of the boy, who very often went down to the beach to meet him as he returned from his work. For in order to provide for his little family, the father went out daily in his boat to hunt for sea animals and birds, and always came back well loaded.

But one day the man came home with little game and looking very sad. His wife asked the cause of his unhappiness, and he answered roughly that seals were scarce. From that day on, the poor woman could not depend with any regularity on his home-coming. Sometimes he would not put in an appearance until late in the night, and frequently he stayed away two or three days together. He brought so little game that the family had barely enough to live on. When at home, he was dejected and could hardly be made to talk. His wife's questions were generally cut short by brutal answers.

Things kept going from bad to worse, and the climax was reached when the man disappeared altogether. Days and weeks passed without bringing any tidings of his whereabouts. In looking over a basket filled with various objects, the woman came across the head and claws of an eagle which had been given her when she was a girl. These she shook and worked on until she made a large eagle's skin, which she put on herself and flew away to find her husband, who, she feared, was starving or lying ill somewhere. She flew a long time, and came to the outskirts of a large village, alighting near a barabara alongside of which bubbled a spring to which the women came for water. From where she was, the eagle could see a bidarka with her husband in it coming towards the shore. At the same time her attention was drawn to a young woman running to the spring to fetch some water, and, after leaving it in the hut, hurrying down to the beach to greet her faithless husband. Following her rival, the eagle swooped down on the man, and, snatching him in her claws, flew with him into the clouds, from whence she dropped him into the sea.

From this tragedy the eagle flew home to her children, whom she found safe. To the boy she gave a feather and a pebble to eat, which he did. Up to this time all those who had gone up the river failed to return, no one knowing just what had become of them. The boy, when he grew up, told his mother that he had made up his mind to go upstream. She tried in vain to dissuade him from his enterprise by pointing out the dangers and citing cases of strong and brave hunters who had lost their lives in the undertaking. Seeing that he was determined, she yielded, and gave him to take with him a needle and this advice: "If you are in trouble, think of the feather; should no help come from that, remember the pebble; and if very hard pressed, make use of the needle." The next morning he got into his boat and paddled upstream until he came to a cave into which the tide was setting with such force that he was unable to keep out of it. In the cave he felt a current of warm air and saw a smooth beach, on which he pulled up his bidarka. Pretty soon afterwards he became aware of some one approaching, and great was the boy's fright when he saw near him a large old man breathing fire. There was, however, no harm done him, except that the old man asked him to follow. They marched into the interior, passing through dark and hot

places, gradually ascending to lighter and cooler atmosphere, until they stood on the summit of a mountain whose sides sheered straight down into the sea. "If you wish to live with me," said the old man, "you must jump off this bluff;" and with this he gave him a push, and the boy felt himself going down, down. He thought of his mother's advice about the feather, and by doing so became a feather and was carried by the wind back to the top of the mountain. There he resumed his human shape, and went back to his boat and proceeded in his ascent of the river, coming to a bay partly inclosed by steep black walls. In the distance, at the head of the bay, a barabara was visible, and thither the boy pulled and landed. He went in and found a very stout old woman and a young girl, who began to weep when she saw him.

"Why do you weep?" said the old woman. "Who is dead or drowning at sea?" — "I am not drowned. I died neither on land nor on sea," answered the boy. "If you are alive, come in; but if dead, stay out." — "I am alive," he replied, and went in.

When a few questions had been asked and answered, the old woman proposed that the young couple should marry, which was done. The young wife did not love her husband, and begged the old woman to have him killed for fresh meat, but the latter put her off by saying that he was not fat enough. At last the old woman consented to have him killed, and for this purpose told him to go to the top of the hill, to the home of her brother, and there take a bath. He suspected treachery, and was on the lookout.

At the top of the hill a stout old man waited for him to take him to the bath-house, and urged him to hurry with his bathing, for he had a hot roasted codfish waiting for him. When the boy went in, the old man closed up all openings and poured hot oil on the heated rocks in order to smother him; but the boy changed himself into a pebble, and remained so until the door was opened and fresh air blew in. On seeing him come out unharmed, the old man exclaimed, "Ah, you are different from the others!" After having eaten his roasted fish, the old man proposed to the young one to take a run along the edge of the cliffs. This proposition was accepted on condition that the old man take the lead. They started off; and when they reached a steep and dangerous place, the boy shoved his companion off, and he disappeared out of sight. From here he returned home, where he found his wife sitting near the fire and the old woman soundly asleep. His wife he called outside and shot her with the needle his mother gave him, and then he shot the old woman with the same weapon.

Having had enough adventure, he started down the stream to where his mother was; and to her and others he related all that had happened to him. The chief of the village was so delighted that he gave him his daughter in marriage. After that time no harm came to those who went

upstream; but they must not approach the cave at flood-tide, for they will be drawn in.

Each volcano has a master. He breathes fire, and he it was who met the boy in the cave. This old man of the volcano does not like rivals, and kills all who come in his way.

3. THE WOMAN WITH ONE EYE

(Unga Story)

An Aleut with his two wives lived in a bay far from other people. Each day the man would go out in his one-hatch bidarka to hunt, leaving the women at their work, and in the evening they would all meet again. One day he departed as usual, but did not return in the evening, and many weeks passed before anything was heard about him. Food and wood were giving out, and the poor women did not know what to do. Worry and anxiety about the fate of their husband made them old and ill; and the only thing that kept them alive was hope, for they could not believe that he was dead. From an eminence near the hut they daily took turns watching for his coming. While one of the women was thus occupied, a bird alighted on an alder-bush, and said, "Chick, chickee, chick! Your husband is not drowned. He lives. By yonder point there is a beach, near there a hillock, close to that a barabara in which there is a woman with whom your husband is at present living. Chick, chickee, chick!" The frightened woman ran quickly to the hut to tell her partner in desertion the news, but the latter would not believe it. The following day the two went together, and while they sat there the little bird came; and this is what it sang, "Chick, chickee, chick! Your (plural) husband is not dead. He lives. Around the point is a beach, close to it a little hill, alongside of it a barabara in which there is a woman with whom your husband lives. Chick, chickee, chick!" Having said this, it flew away.

Both women felt that the bird had told them the truth, and they decided to find their husband. For several days they walked before they rounded the point where they saw the beach, the hillock, the barabara, and in the distance, out in the bay, a man fishing. They neared the hut very quietly, and, on peeping through a hole, were startled to see an old woman who had in the middle of her forehead one eye very much diseased, giving her a very ugly appearance. One-Eye somehow became aware of the presence of people outside, and called out, "Come in, come in!" The visitors entered and sat down near the fire, over which was boiling a pot of soup, of which they were asked to help themselves. But as no clam-shells with which to dip were offered them, they could not eat. One of the visitors then asked One-Eye who the person was in the bidarka fishing. She replied that it was not a bidarka at all, but a rock which at low tide seemed like a man fishing from a bidarka. She again invited her guests to eat, but they told her that they could not without

spoons (clam-shells). The hostess tried to show her visitors how to eat without spoons by bending her head over the pot; but before she finished her illustration, the two women jumped on her and shoved her face into the soup until she was dead. Dressing her in her parka (fur cloak), and taking her to a conspicuous place on the beach, they propped her up into a natural position and left her there.

Towards evening the fisherman pulled for the shore, and, as he came close to the beach, the two women in hiding recognized their long-lost husband. He got out of the boat and went towards One-Eye, and, holding before him a fish, said, "Whenever you love me, you come to the beach to greet me." But as he received no answer, he came to her and put his arms around her, which caused them both to fall over. While he was in this attitude, his two wives jumped out and appeared before him. On seeing them, he made a dash for his boat. They followed, and came up with him just as he was about to paddle away. One seized the bidarka, and the other grabbed the paddle, and said to him, "We thought that you were dead, and we mourned and suffered, while you were here all the time. Now we are going to kill you." — "Don't kill me! I will go home with you, and we will live as formerly." — "No, no! We will kill you."

Saying this, they pushed the bidarka out until the water reached their necks, and there turned it over and drowned their faithless and cowardly husband.

4. THE WOMAN WITHOUT A NOSE

(Belkovsky Story)

At the head of a long bay lived a man and his wife apart from other human beings, of whose existence they were hardly aware. Every pleasant morning the man went hunting, returning in the evening with a bidarka full of seal-meat. One day, however, he failed to come back at the usual time. This made the woman uneasy, and she kept a look-out for him; and when he finally appeared, he had only one small seal. To the numerous questions of the wife he merely replied, "The seals are scarce, and I have to go far to get them." She believed him. The next day he was again late, and had the same hard-lück story to tell. He looked worried, ate little, and refused to talk. Occasionally he would be gone two and three days at a stretch, returning with but little game. Finally he told his wife that he was ill and about to die, and made her promise that when that sad day should come, she would dress him up as if he were going hunting, and leave him with his boat and weapons in the open air. A few days after this conversation she found him dead, and she faithfully carried out her promise. In the evening, being exhausted from much weeping and hard work, she went into the hut and fell asleep. When she woke up, neither husband, nor bidarka, nor weapons were to be seen, but on the beach she discovered tracks made by her husband in carrying the boat to the water. "Ai, Ai, Y-a-h. This is why he died, and

asked to be buried in this manner!" For a whole day and night she sat as if stupefied, trying in vain to solve the mystery. After the first shock was over, she did the best she could to adjust her life to the new conditions and accept the inevitable. But one day while she was cutting grass, a little bird perched itself on a bush near her and repeated three times, "Mack-la-cluili woani." The woman listened attentively, and concluded that the bird meant for her to go in search of her husband. She hurried home to put on her torbasas (soft skin shoes) and belt, and set out. Over hills and valleys she walked before she came in sight of a bay, where she noticed a man in a bidarka fishing, and she suspected him of being her husband. Not far from her was a hut, to which she directed her footsteps; and on going in, she saw a woman around the fire cooking seal-meat. A better look at the woman disclosed the fact that her face was quite flat; there was not even a sign of a nose. Yet she sniffed the air and said, "Fati. I smell a human being. Where did it die, on sea or on land?"—"I died neither on sea nor on land," said the new-comer, "but came to find my husband." On the floor was a large knife, which the visitor picked up unperceived, and, watching her chance, attacked the noseless woman and cut her head off. Her body was carried outside, the head replaced, and she was made to look as natural as possible. This done, the deserted wife hid near by to await the coming of her faithless husband. As he approached, he called, "I am coming!" but receiving no reply, he shouted again, "I am coming!" Still no reply. A third time, "I am coming! Are you angry again to-day? I did not go anywhere." When he pulled up his bidarka, he spoke again, "Why are you angry? Here I am." He went up to his mistress, and, on touching her, the head fell off. Just then his wife appeared, and said, "This is how you died." He looked at her and then at the mistress, and began to weep. Turning his back on both of them, he got into his bidarka, pulled away a short distance from the shore, turned it over, and drowned himself.

5. THE WOMAN WITH ONE EYE

(Told in English by an Aleut boy of Unga, and here reproduced verbatim)

Once upon a time there was a man and he was married to two womens. He was a fisherman. He was fishing for a long time and he saw a sand-spit and there was fire burning there and he saw smoke. Then he went ashore. Soon as he came to the house he saw an old woman with one eye. That old woman asked him if he was married and he said, "Yes." Then he gave the old woman some of his fish and went back to his place. He came to his home and told his womens if he dies to put him in a barabara and his bidarka and bow and arrows, spears and knives. His wives said, "Yes, we will do what you say." Then he died after that; then the two ladies put him inside the bidarka and put his things inside the bidarka and some other things into the barabara. Those two ladies

were crying like anything. That other lady — the one carrying the stern of the bidarka — dropped her end of the bidarka, being too heavy for her. That man he laughed a little, he smiled a little. That head-lady said, "This dead fellow laughed a little." And that lady who dropped her end she was growling, "You think a dead people will laugh." — "I saw him laughing myself," that lady said. Then they walked on again to the barabara. It was a long ways to that barabara. That lady, she was tired all the time and she dropped her end again. When she dropped her end the man laughed again, and he did not want the ladies to know that he is not dead, he was making out that he was dead all the time. They brought him to the barabara. Then these two ladies were crying all the time. They went home to go to sleep. Then at night that man he woke up, he took his bidarka to the beach and he loaded his bidarka with his things that he had in the barabara, then he started off for that woman with the one eye.

When those two ladies woke up in the morning they went to the barabara to see if that man is there. When they came to that barabara they did not find that fellow in there. Then they were crying more again.

Then that man was fishing for the woman with the one eye. (The sequel to this story is very much like that in the story of *The Woman with One Eye*, No. 3, given above.)

6. THE FIGHT FOR A WIFE

(Unga Story)

Once upon a time there was a young man who lived all alone, far from other people. He had a habit of lifting stones, — at first small ones, but he gradually grew so strong that even large ones yielded to him. When he became old enough to marry, he decided to go out in the world to get a wife, — peaceably if he could, but he was also prepared to fight for her.

After several days' paddling, he came one night to a village. In one hut he saw a light, and thither he directed his footsteps, and found a young girl, who greeted him, gave him something to eat and a place to sleep. As soon as the inhabitants of the village heard of the presence of a stranger they sent him a challenge. An old man presented himself, and through the intestine window shouted, "Our champion would like with the new arrival try his strength." The meaning of the words were explained to the young man by the girl, and she advised him to accept. The first test of skill consisted in securing white whales. Each contestant went in his own boat in the presence of the villagers. In the evening they returned; and the new-comer, having secured the largest number of these animals, was declared the victor.

On the following day another challenge was delivered in the manner indicated above. This time it was to be a boat-race. When the rivals met on the beach, their bidarkas were side by side; and between them was

placed a bow and arrow, to be used by the victor on the vanquished. The race was to be around a large island facing the village. They got away together, and for a time the contest was in doubt — first one and then the other leading. But as the race progressed, the local champion took the lead, and gradually drew away from his rival until he lost sight of him altogether. So certain were the old men on the shore of the outcome of the race, that they would not even remain to see the finish. But the new-comer, when he saw himself outdistanced, turned to his boat, which was made of beluga (white whale) skin, and commanded it to be changed to a beluga, swim under the water, and overtake the local champion. When close to the shore, he came up, assuming his natural shape, and landed. The local champion, on looking back and not seeing his rival, slowed up, feeling certain of victory. Great was therefore his astonishment and fright on beholding him on the beach with the bow in his hand. He had little time to think, for the twice victorious hero shot him. While eating supper at the home of the young girl, an old man came to request him to go to the beach to withdraw the arrow from the local hero, since no one else could do it. He went and did as he was asked, and the ex-champion became well again.

When the evening of the third day came around, the young man was challenged once more, in the usual manner, to a wrestling-match to take place in the "Large House." In the centre was a large pit, fenced in, containing many human bones and shaman worms. It was understood that the victor was to throw his victim into the pit, from which he could not get out, and where the worms would eat him. Life, love, and glory hung on the outcome of the struggle, and both men fought hard and long. At last the stone-lifting exercise of the new-comer came to his aid. By a skilful movement he lifted the local champion off his feet and threw him into the pit.

The crowd declared the young man from now on their champion. He went to the home of his defeated rival to claim the spoils of war, which in this case included two wives, furs, etc.

7. KOIKOIUSA

(Unga Story)

A certain young man had three sisters, two brothers, a mother, and a father whose name was Koikoiusa. The last-named told this son that he wished him to marry, and that in the spring or summer he would take him to a village to get him a wife. In the mean time he made him a one-hatch bidarka, and from the top of the barabara watched and trained the boy in the handling of it. Each day's practice made the boy more proficient, until the father felt that the boy could take care of himself, and gave him permission to go anywhere in the bay that he pleased, so long as he did not go outside of it and around the point.

Several days later, while the father was in the barabara, the boy decided to go around the point and take a peep and come right back before his father came out. When he had passed the forbidden line, he saw coming towards him a frightfully large bidarka, in which sat a monstrously huge man using the jaw-bones of a whale for paddles. The boy learned, but too late, why his father told him to keep in sight. This giant's name was Meechem Aleu. He was chief of a village, and killed every one that passed by there. Meechem Aleu seized the boy's bidarka, and asked, "Where are you going?"—"Where are you going?" the boy replied boldly.—"I live here."—"If you have a daughter, take me to her and I will marry her," said the young man. "Come with me! and if I have a daughter, you shall marry her." Telling him to take the lead, the giant came behind and drove his spear into the boy's back, killing him.

Koikoiusa, when he came out of the hut and could nowhere find his son, suspected what had happened. In the evening he put on his kamalayka (shirt made of intestines), got into his bidarka, and went to the village of the giant. Quietly landing and stealthily crawling to the barabara of Meechem Aleu, he listened; and this is what he heard the giant say to his men, "He came towards me; I pulled his bidarka to me and asked him where he was going. He replied by asking me the same question. I told him I lived here. The young fool then asked me if I had a daughter, to take him to her and he would marry her. This made me angry, and I told him to paddle ahead of me to the village, and if I had a daughter he should marry her. When we had gone a short distance, I threw the spear at him, the bidarka turned over, and down he went. The last I saw of him were the white soles of his torbasas (soft seal-skin shoes)."

This account amused the audience a great deal, but Koikoiusa wept bitterly. With his kamalayka he wiped the hot tears away, but they flowed on "until the folds of the kamalayka were full." A little later he heard the warriors leave Meechem Aleu's house, and the voice of the giant telling his two boys to go to sleep, but to be on the alert during the night; and if the wind changed, they were to go down to the beach and make fast the bidarkas.

When those inside had retired, Koikoiusa slipped quietly back to his boat, from which he took his sharp stone knife and the spear with the sharp stone point, and sneaked to the giant's home. They were all asleep, and did not hear him lift the grass mat, or notice him as he crawled through the door. Without waking any one, he went to where the boys slept and cut their heads off, and, tying them together by the hair, hung them right over Meechem Aleu, and went outside to see what would follow. Pretty soon he heard the giant call, "Hi, hi, hi! Wake up, boys! It is raining outside. I feel the drops on my face. Go and tie the bidarkas." When he had called two or three times and no one answered, he got up

and lighted the straw wick in his stone lamp. What he saw made him weep; and between sobs he repeated several times, "Ai-Ai-Yah. Koikoiusa has done this because I killed his boy."

Koikoiusa, who was listening, heard the words, and answered by coughing three times, which meant a challenge. He went to his bidarka and paddled for home. On the way he fished and caught a very large halibut, and, having selected a favorable spot, he landed and covered the fish with sand. He also sharpened some prongs and antlers which he found, and concealed them near the halibut. Meechem Aleu, whom he expected, soon afterwards made his appearance. When Koikoiusa saw him coming, he pulled off his parka (fur cloak) and stationed himself near the halibut in an attitude of defence. Koikoiusa, though powerful, was so small that he could barely reach to the breast of the giant; but this proved an advantage, for the giant was unable to get a good hold. The little man was quick, and by twisting and pushing he forced the big man to slip on the halibut. He fell with such force that the prongs and antlers penetrated his body, and before he could clear himself Koikoiusa cut his head off. From here Koikoiusa went back to his own village, and during the rest of his life he bewailed the sad fate of his son.

8. THE BOY WITH THE SEAL-FLIPPERS

(Unga Story)

Kawhachnanign, chief of a village, had a wife and two sons. The older was the darling of the mother, while the father preferred the younger. This boy had one marked peculiarity, — his hands and feet were like those of a fur-seal. When he was walking, his flippers would interfere with each other, causing the child to fall. The villagers were greatly amused, but fear of the father kept them from manifesting their fun publicly.

One time when the chief and his men were out hunting, a party of warriors from another village came to attack Kawhachnanign and his people. Learning that the men were all gone, the visitors decided to have a grand feast that night, and in the morning kill all the old people and ugly women and children, and take with them the younger women and some of the children. They pulled up their bidaraks (large open skin boats) on the beach without fear or hindrance. All the small boys, who were just then playing near the water, ran away out of danger except the boy with the seal-flippers, who could not keep up. He was captured, gazed at, and made much fun of by the visitors. The mother, when she learned of the whereabouts of the child, advanced towards the warriors, weeping and singing, "I do not love him, but his father loves him. Send him to me." They let him go; and as he walked towards his mother, he fell every few steps. This scene the warriors enjoyed hugely. When he fell, some one picked him up and sat him on his feet again, and this

would be succeeded by another fall and more laughter. The mother suffered a great deal, but could not interfere; and when the boy at last reached her, she took him in her arms and ran home weeping.

While the warriors were feasting and making merry, Kawhachnanign and his men were on their way to the village; and when they noticed the camp-fire and the bidaraks on the beach, they knew that the enemy had but recently arrived. They therefore landed in a small cove on another part of the island, and under cover of darkness got into the village unperceived. The chief found his wife in tears, and asked her the cause of her grief, and whether any one had been injured. In reply she took the crippled child and gave him to the father, saying, "Take your child, I do not love him," and related all that had taken place. He did not say much, but lay down to think. Early in the morning, when it was light enough for one "to see the lines in the palm of the hand," Kawhachnanign with his men fell on the sleeping and unsuspecting warriors and cut their heads off. Not feeling himself sufficiently revenged, he went to the village of the enemy, killed the old and ugly, and brought the others back as captives.

9. THE LAKE-MONSTER

(Unga Story)

There was a large village close to a lake in which lived a frightful monster. This beast was fed by the people on game which they killed; but when this failed, human beings were substituted. After a time, of all the inhabitants there was left but one woman, who had her hut on the outskirts of the village. She gave birth (at one time) to five boys and one girl. The girl was born with a feather parka on her. The mother took good care of her children; and when they were big enough to run about, she permitted them "to go everywhere except on the south side." They inquired the reason for this command and the cause of so many empty barabaras formerly occupied by people. The mother refused to answer their questions, but promised to do so some time in the future, when they were older. They were far from satisfied with this reply, and insisted on being told at once, and even threatened to disobey her instructions. Much against her inclination, and with fear and trembling, she told them, "On the south side there is a large lake, in which lives a monster so huge that his body reaches from one bank to the other. He has devoured all the people of the village; and I understand that he is coming closer now, for he has had nothing to eat for a long time. You must not go near the lake. One of these days he will come and eat us up."

The children received the news coolly, and threatened to go the next day to kill the monster. "Ai-Ai-Yah!" cried the mother. "Don't do it. There were many people strong and brave who could not kill him, and how will you do it?" But the children would not be dissuaded. Under the

direction of the girl, the boys worked all night making bows and arrows. In the morning, in spite of the entreaties of their mother, they set out to hunt, and succeeded in killing a fur-seal, which the girl cooked and covered with feathers from her parka. Putting the meat on the platter, she started with it towards the lake, followed by her brothers. From a hill near by they had a good view of the lake and the monster, whose tail was above water. Here the girl ordered her brothers to wait out of danger, while she proceeded. When the monster saw her coming, he opened his mouth, drawing her to him; but before he had quite succeeded, he was obliged to go under. She took advantage of the opportunity, and, after putting down the meat, ran back as fast as she could. When she heard him emerge, she fell down on the ground, clutching with all her might some alder-bushes, and in this way escaped the fate of the meat, which the beast got into his mouth. After the monster had eaten, he went under the water; and in the mean time the girl gained the hill, where her brothers were waiting. They watched to see what would follow, and after a time they were made glad to see the monster appearing on the surface dead. The feathers of the parka in which the girl was born poisoned him, as they would any other animal. With this joyful news, the children hastened home to tell their mother. Around this place the family continued to live, and from them all the inhabitants of Bering Island are descended.

10. THE SINEW ROPE

(Kadiak Story)

There were a great many successful hunters in a certain village; but one there was who had never killed anything, and he and his parents lived off the game secured by others. This humiliated the young man very much. He often asked his mother why he in particular was so unfortunate, and what he ought to do to have better luck.

His mother advised him to go to the point of the cape and look about, but under no circumstances to go farther. He set out, and, when reaching the designated spot without seeing anything of note, he decided to go on until something happened. Towards evening he came to a beach, and in the sand he detected fresh human footsteps. After pulling up his boat on the kelp, he threw himself alongside of it, giving the impression of having been thrown up by the waves. He lay there a short time when he heard footsteps followed by a voice saying, "Ha, ha, here is another one!" The young man was carefully examined by the new-comer to make sure that he was dead; then tying a sinew rope about the body, the person swung him on his shoulders and walked off. On the way they passed through alder-bushes; and when a good opportunity offered itself, the young man reached out and gave a strong pull at a bush, almost upsetting the bearer, who called out, "Who is pulling me?"

When they reached a barabara, the young man was conscious of a woman and several children gathered about him in the expectation of a feast. The baby coaxed so much for a piece of meat that the father told the mother to cut off a toe for the child. Painful as the operation was, the young man did not in the least betray his feelings. The man had started a big fire and was sharpening the knives, when his attention was drawn to the choking baby, who had attempted to swallow the toe but could not. While the whole family was assisting the baby, the young man decided it was about time to escape. So he made a dash for the outside, and ran as fast as he could to the beach for the boat. He had barely time to get in it and push out, when the other man came up and said, "Give me back my sinew rope, and I will give you something also."

The young man, however, refused to have any dealings with him, and pulled away, taking the rope with him. On the way home he killed much game; and as long as he retained the rope he was successful, and in time became a renowned hunter.

II. UGHEK

(Karluk Story)

In a very large and populous village lived a half-witted man named Ughek. On account of his meanness he was much disliked by all the people. To the evening parties where the men gathered in the large hall to play, sing, and dance in a circle, he was never invited. The women were not permitted to take part in these joyous festivities; but when bringing in the cooked seal-meat, ducks, and berries and oil, for the men, they were allowed to dance in and, after depositing the food, to dance out again. Ughek, who resented the treatment he was receiving, got even with his neighbors by hiding near the dance-hall; and as the women passed, he plucked the dress of one, pinched a second, and tripped a third, and in this way made himself thoroughly disagreeable to the community.

The chief determined to put up with him no longer. He therefore called a meeting, which decided to leave the village for a time; but Ughek should not be taken. The next day the village, except for Ughek, was deserted. For two days he did not mind his new situation; but at the end of that time he began to fear lest the *schwicheleghek* (sea-monster, half-human and half beast, which is covered on the body with sea-shells and on the head with kelp) would come out at low tide and eat him, as he had done to others.

On the evening of the third day he gathered all the oil lamps from the other barabaras into his own, filled them with oil, and lighted them. This done, he played on the drum, sang, and danced. Every now and then he turned his head toward the beach, and once his attention was drawn to a stone. He went out to it, and said, "You are here alone, as I am. It is

lonely for you. Come with me. In the barabara where I am it is pleasant, many people are dancing. Come with me." Since the stone made no answer, he attempted to force it to come with him by carrying it, but he could not lift it. He went once more into his hut, continuing his singing. Again he approached the stone, asking it to share his joys, and again the stone refused. The attempt to move it was a little more successful, for he advanced it two steps at least. He went back to his music, and from there to the stone. The third time he transported it as far as the doorstep. He danced and sang a little more, and finally got the stone inside, and said, "I am all alone. The people have gone and left me to starve. I am afraid of the schwichileghk. I will put you over the door, and, if he comes, you fall on him and kill him."

Having placed the stone over the door, Ughek was free to go on with his entertainment. About midnight his joy was cut short by the odor of kelp, which became stronger with each minute. Ughek had his eyes on the skin door, which fluttered, and through which a moment later a head of kelp was seen, and from it these words came in a roaring voice: "It has been a long time since I have eaten anything, but now I shall have a good feast." The schwichileghk, for it was he, advanced slowly, but when about halfway in, the stone fell down and killed him.

Ughek raised the stone, cut the monster into small pieces, which he cooked, and filled all the dishes he could find in the village. Not many days later the villagers returned, and Ughek, on hearing them, ran off and hid. Not seeing any trace of Ughek, the chief and his people concluded that he was dead, and celebrated the event with a dance. As the women were advancing with their cooked meats, Ughek sneaked in and played his old tricks on them. One of them ran into the dance-hall, shouting excitedly, "You thought Ughek dead, but he is not. He just now tripped me." It was decided to call him in, and invite him to tell all that happened to him during their absence. Ughek came in, and began playing on the drum, singing and dancing. That done, he asked permission of the chief to set refreshments before the people. When this was granted, he went out and brought in the cooked schwichileghk. Each person took a piece of meat, chewed and swallowed it, and dropped dead. Ughek himself returned to his hut to live with his stone, and there he is now.

COLUMBIA, Mo.

TRADITIONS OF THE COOS INDIANS OF OREGON¹

COLLECTED BY HARRY HULL ST. CLAIR, *ed.*; EDITED BY
LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES

THE Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. The head-chief of the tribe lived in a village called Da'nts. He visited frequently the other villages, travelling with a great crowd around him and gambling and playing shinny wherever he came. Chiefs were elected according to their intellectual and social qualities. They were usually wise men, good speakers in the council, and wealthier than the rest of the people. No Indian could do anything without having consulted previously the head-chief. His orders were usually obeyed. But when his judgment seemed faulty, the people of wealth might be appealed to. When they opposed the chief, he was overruled. Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher. They acted as judges. They were given presents by all the other Indians. If a man gained anything, he gave the whole, or part of it, to the chiefs of his village, and received in return their help in cases of need. They usually paid the fines for their clansmen. Thus, in case of homicide, the murderer had to pay a heavy fine, which was paid by the village-chiefs. The murderer was not expected to return the fine to his chiefs, but he could do so if he desired. The fine always went to the parents or family of the murdered man. When a crime had been committed, the inhabitants of the village in which the murderer lived danced for a number of nights (usually five) a dance called *saat*, — the murder-dance. The murderer himself had to arrange the dance and select men to help him. This dance was due to the belief that an omission of this ceremony would turn the murderer's blood black and kill him in course of time. The dance and the paying of the fine eased the conscience of the murderer, whose mind until then was in darkness.

The Coos Indians believed in shamans, who were able to discover who had taken or stolen an article and who could induce the thief to return it to the owner. If the thief did not want to give up the stolen goods, the shamans held a council and threatened to turn him into a wild animal by means of their powers. This threat invariably had the desired effect. The shamans obtained their power in dreams, after swimming and walking about at night.

¹ The following notes and tales were collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903. The traditions were recorded in the form of texts. Since these, however, require further study on the spot, it seemed desirable to make the tales themselves accessible to students. The translations follow as nearly as possible the interlinear and free translations given by the collector. — LEO J. FRACHTENBERG.

The Coos Indians had no ceremonial dances of great importance. Dancing was usually resorted to as a pastime. After a man was initiated as a shaman, he gave a great dance called *laxqa'was*, in which men and women participated. The dance lasted a whole night.

Marriages were arranged by the parents of the bride, who was purchased from them. If a rich man had a boy three, four, or ten years old, and knew a friend who had a girl of the same age, he would purchase this child for his son. The children were married, but did not live together until they attained marriageable age. A man bought his wife from her father, no matter whether she was willing or not. Only in cases where the purchase amount was not sufficient and the girl objected too strongly to the marriage, could she escape marrying the would-be buyer. Ten fathoms of beads (*elkachic*), a couple of blankets, an otter-hide, or a canoe, was the usual price paid for a girl. A chief's daughter was priced higher. She was usually bought with woodpecker-scalps valued so much because of the fact that dancing-caps were made of them. If a man's wife was unfaithful, her husband went to her parents, who returned the purchase-price. Sometimes the woman's paramour, too, had to pay a fine, invariably equal to the amount paid by the husband to the parents of the girl. The girl went to live with her husband as soon as she was mature. When the first signs of maturity appeared, she was secluded for ten days in a dark place, and had to go out at night-time to bathe and walk. Sometimes some other young woman kept her company till the end of the ten days.

When a child was born, the friends of the family were usually invited to a feast, and all leading men received presents from the parents of the child. After the child was five days old or more, another feast was given, at which the child received a name. The naming was done in the following way: First the guests agreed upon a name, which was submitted to the mother of the child for approval. The name being satisfactory to the mother, two men sitting on opposite ends of the group of guests, and appointed by the nearest relatives of the parents, called out in a loud voice the name given to the child. Then the whole audience repeated it, and the ceremony was over. Children of poor parents were usually named by the parents themselves. A boy of about five or ten years could not be called by his childhood name to his face without being mortally offended. This could be done in talking to some one else. It was the same in the case of girls.

The Coos Indians had three kinds of houses: underground houses, called *qall yixa'wex*; lumber houses, called *q'uwaix yixa'wex*; and grass houses, known as *wa'al yixa'wex*.

They used elk-antler for wedges, and sharpened them on very hard stones, making chisels out of them. They also made spoons of elk-antler. Knives were made of bones of whale, of dry, hard arrow-wood, or of

flint. Fire was made by drilling dried willow-roots in a hearth of cedar-wood and igniting fine, dried cedar-bark. Fire was preserved by packing *ha'otit* (?) around it. Dishes were made mostly of wood. They had no stone dishes. They made wooden pots, and knew how to weave little basket plates. Baskets were used for keeping water. Meat and other food was cooked with hot rocks. The rocks were covered with grass, the meat was laid on top, then a layer of brush and some dirt, making thus some kind of an oven. Water was boiled by throwing red-hot rocks into it.

The Coos Indians ate the meat of elks, salmon, deer, beaver, and clams. For vegetables they used fern-roots, skunk-cabbage roots, mussels, and a sort of grass called *y'u*.

Tattooing was not practised among them. Their blankets were made of elk-hides, and their clothes of deer-hides. Their dress consisted of leggings and a shirt. Only the chiefs decorated their leggings with beads (*elkachic*). Hats were made of buckskin, covered with feathers of cormorants and divers. Moccasins were worn, some of them marked with juice from the red bark of the alder. The dresses of women were made of buckskin decorated with ruffles or beads. They wore leggings up to the knees, and basket-hats.

The Coos Indians were in the habit of burying small objects with the person that died. These objects were contributed by the relatives and nearest friends of the deceased.

TALES

I. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MERMAN

In an Indian village named Takimiya there lived five brothers and a sister. Many men from different places wished to marry the girl, but she did not want to get married. It was her custom to go swimming every day in a little creek. One day, while returning from her daily swim, she noticed that she was pregnant. Her brothers demanded to know how this had happened, but she could not give them any answer, because she did not know. After some time she gave birth to a boy, who was in the habit of crying all the time. Everything was attempted to stop the crying of the baby, but was of no avail. Her brothers therefore advised her to put it outdoors. As soon as this was done, the baby stopped crying. After a little while the mother went out to look after her boy, and noticed, to her surprise, that he was eating some seal-meat, which was strung on a small stick. She looked around to see who could have given him the meat, but could not find anybody. So she took the child into the house. But the boy started crying again, and would not let anybody sleep. Her brothers told her to take the child outside, and advised her to conceal herself and watch it. A whole day she remained outside without seeing any one. Suddenly, towards evening, a man appeared and told her to follow him, because he was her husband. At first she refused to go with him, fearing

that her relatives would not know where she had gone; but after he had assured her that she would be permitted to see her people, she took the baby in her arms and followed him. They were going into the water. Her husband told her to hang on to his belt and to keep her eyes closed. She did so, and they arrived at a village at the bottom of the sea, which was inhabited by many Indians. Her husband was one of the five sons of the chief of this village. They lived here happy and satisfied.

The boy grew up in the mean time, and acquired the habit of playing with arrows. His mother would make them for him, and tell the child, at the same time, that his five uncles, who lived above them, had lots of arrows. One day the little fellow asked his mother whether she would not take him to his uncles to get some arrows. To this the father of the boy objected, although he allowed his wife to go alone. She put on five sea-otter hides, and started on her way early in the morning. As soon as her brothers saw her, they thought she was a real otter, and began to shoot at her with arrows. The otter seemed to have been hit repeatedly, but it would come up again, so that they did not know what became of their arrows. The otter was swimming up and down the river, followed by many people in canoes, who were shooting at it, but nobody could hurt it. Seeing the fruitlessness of their efforts, everybody gave up the hunt, — with the exception of the oldest brother, who followed the otter until it reached the beach. There he saw some one moving around close to the shore. Approaching nearer, he noticed that it was a woman, and recognized her at once as his lost sister. She told him that she was the sea-otter, and showed him the arrows with which they had been shooting at her. She said, "I came here to get some arrows for my boy. My husband is the son of a chief. We are living not very far from here. Whenever the tide is low, you can see our house right in the middle of the ocean. I brought you these sea-otter skins that you might exchange them for some other things." Her brother gave her as many arrows as she could carry, and she went back to her husband. But before going down into the water, she said to her brother, "You will find to-morrow morning a whale on the beach, right in front of your landing." And so it came to pass. The whale was divided among the people.

A few months afterwards the woman visited her relatives with her husband and child, and her brothers noticed that part of her shoulders were turning into those of a dark-colored sea-serpent. She stayed a little while, and then returned home. Long afterwards many of these sea-serpents came into the harbor; but the woman never came ashore again, and was seen no more. These sea-serpents had come after arrows; and people kept on shooting at them, thereby giving them what they desired. They never returned again; but every summer and winter they would put ashore two whales as a gift to their kinsmen above the sea.

2. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE WOLF

There lived in Takimiya a girl who had five brothers. Many men wanted her as a wife, but she did not wish to get married. She was in the habit of chopping wood every afternoon, and bringing it home by means of five tump-lines. One day she went out and brought in four loads of wood, leaving the fifth on the top of a log. While trying to lift the load, she found that she could not raise it. At first she thought that something held it down to the ground. But as this was not the case, she tried once more, with the same result. This vexed her so much that she began to cry. Suddenly there appeared a man by her side, who told her that it was he who was holding the pack. He asked her to become his wife and to follow him. After a few moments' hesitation, she consented, took up the four packs, and went with him, leaving the fifth load on the top of the log. This her brothers found afterwards, and thought that somebody had killed her. They went out searching for her slayer.

In the mean time the girl followed the man, who led her to a large lumber-house. Before entering the house, he said to her, "Wait here a while until your mother-in-law comes to take you in." The girl sat down, and soon a wolf came out, who scared her so much that she began to cry for help. The wolf went back into the house and said to the man, "The girl does not want to come in, she seems to be afraid of me." — "Of course," said the angry man, "she does not want to go in with you. Take the shape of a person, and the girl will not be afraid of you." The wolf then assumed the appearance of an old woman, and asked the girl to come in.

She entered the house, and saw there many old men, who told her that the young people had gone hunting and had not come back yet. In the evening the boys came home, each carrying a deer and throwing it off outside the house. In the house there were many things, — beads, Indian money (*hadd'yams*), and all kinds of meats. The girl stayed in the house and was very happy.

She had two boys. When the boys had grown up, she warned them not to go down to the river nor to the bay. But the boys did not mind her words, and came home one day, telling their mother that, while going to the river, they had seen some Indians with short-cut hair, running and crying. She knew at once that those were her five brothers, who were looking for her, and she told this to her husband. One day he told her that they would go and see her relatives. He gave her a heavy load of meat, some beads, and other valuable things, to take to the house of her brothers. He also told her to come back soon. She went into the house and told her people where she had been until now, and asked them not to worry about her. Before leaving, she promised to provide for them in the future, and she kept her promise. Her boys would drive live deer

or elk down the river, where the brothers could kill them easily. The man whom she had married was a wolf.

3. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE DOG

There lived in the village of Takimiya a girl who had five brothers. She used to make baskets. She had a little house of her own outside the main building, where she used to do her work. She had a nice little dog whom she always kept in her house. One day a nice-looking young man came to her hut and wanted to know why she liked the dog so much. She told him that the dog was her only companion, that she fed him herself, and that he always slept under her bed. When the young man heard this, he killed the dog, and put his skin on. In this form he became her husband. Every night he took the little dog-hide off and went to bed with his wife. After a while she became pregnant, and her brothers wanted to know who her husband was. But she refused to tell, and her brothers gave up asking. Only her youngest brother was curious to know why she took such good care of her little dog. Not being able to find out the reason, he decided to kill the dog. One day, while his sister was going up the house-ladder, and the dog was walking behind her, he took his bow and arrow and shot him. The dog ran out of the house barking, and she followed him into the woods, where she found him lying dead. After having buried him, she kept on going through the woods until she came to a place where there was a creek. She stopped here, built a little house, and lived on fish. After some time she gave birth to twins. When the boys grew up they became hunters. One day they met some Indians who had short-cut hair, and who were crying. They related this to their mother, and she told them how this happened. She said, "When your father came to me for the first time, I had a little dog. He killed the little dog and assumed his shape. My youngest brother killed him later, thinking that it was a real dog." She also told them that she would like to go and see her brothers. One day she went to visit them, and told them that she had two sons, and that they were living in the wilderness. When her oldest brother heard this, he said to her, "Let your children come here, and I will make them my heirs, and also give each of them a wife." She went back and brought her boys to Takimiya. Here they grew to be very stout men, great shinny players, good gamblers, and strong wrestlers.

4. THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE BIRD

On the river Siusean there lived a young man who was a gambler. He lost his property as fast as he could acquire it. Finally it happened that he had nothing more left. His relatives could not support him. Therefore he took his fish-pole, the only thing left to him, and started up the North Fork (*Q&dic*). He came to a little waterfall, and saw in it

a nice little bird (butter-ball) that he wanted to catch with his spear. But every time he was ready to throw, the bird would dive and thereby avoid the spear. Having made a few more unsuccessful attempts, he went down to the edge of the creek, and decided to dive in the water, to see whether he could not catch the bird with his hands. When he had dived, he saw a large house, and in it the bird he was trying to catch. The bird said to him, "You are my husband. Come in." He entered and heard at the other end of the house a great noise. He looked around and saw many people dancing and trying to cure a sick person. Some were gambling. He joined in the game, began to win, and continued winning right along. Then his wife asked him whether he had a sister at home, and he told her that he had a sister and a brother, and also a father who was very old and poor. He stayed in this house five days, after which the people told him that they would take him home. While they were preparing a canoe, his wife said to him, "Here are some clothes that you may take home for your sister. Whenever she puts them on she will look just like me." He took the clothes and went into the canoe with three companions, who gave him a piece of whale to take along. They told him to lie down in the canoe and to keep his eyes shut. But soon he got tired of it and opened his eyes a little. Just as he did so, a breaker nearly swamped the canoe; and his companions shouted to him, "Keep your eyes shut!" This scared him so much that he closed his eyes, and did not open them again. They were paddling under the water until they came to the beach. Here he left his companions and went afoot towards his home. While walking along he heard a noise. He approached nearer, and saw that it was his father who was wandering about the place where they had been living before, crying for his son. He approached him and asked him what he was doing. At the sight of his son, the old man uttered a cry of joy, and clasped him in his arms. Then they went towards the house, and when they came to a little creek, the old man said, "Let me carry you across the creek." But the son objected, and answered, "No, I will jump across. You can wade across. I am not going to run away; I am going home with you." When they came to the mouth of the river, they found the cut of whale that was given to the young man by his wife's relatives. They had told him that, if he would give to each of his relatives a piece of this whale, he would find a whole whale the next day. Thus he was enabled to gain wealth from this, because he could sell it. He therefore sliced the whale, and distributed it among his relatives. The next morning he found a whale on the shore. He cut it up, and sold pieces of it to the people of the village. Thus this young Indian became a rich man. His friends, too, grew rich through him.

5. THE WOMAN WHO BECAME A BEAR ¹

There lived in Kuwaitc a girl who was very lazy. She was so lazy that nobody could ever make her work. One day she became *t̄ts̄w̄es* (?), and her people had to shut her up. They closed her up for five days, and did not give her anything to eat or to drink. But she had a little brother of about ten or twelve years of age, who would put some water on the back of his neck, cover it up with his hair, and bring it to her to drink. In the same way he supplied her with food. In the mean time hair began to grow on her shoulders and arms, her finger-nails and teeth started to grow, and she turned into a bear. On the fifth day she said to her brother, "You must not be afraid of me. Stay right where you are, while I go to kill all my relatives." She went out and tore up first her mother and father, and then the other inhabitants of the little village. Afterwards she gathered up all their clothes and beads, and took them to the place where her little brother was, saying, "Stay here, while I go down to the creek to take a drink." When she arrived there, she got down on her hands and knees and began to drink. She kept on drinking until she turned into rock. She is there yet, and there is a tree standing on her head, an arrow-wood tree, which is her hair. Her little brother became a rich man; for he inherited all the clothes and beads that his sister had left in the house. He went away later to another Indian village, where he soon married.

6. THE REVENGE ON THE SKY-PEOPLE ²

There were two brothers living in Kiwé'et; the older one was a canoe-builder. One day, while he was at work, a man came up to him and asked, "What do you do with your canoe after it is finished?"—"I always sell it," he replied, going on with his work and holding his head down. Near the canoe that he was building lay his little dog. All at once the stranger hit the canoe-builder a terrible blow, killing him instantly. He cut off his head and walked away with it.

When the younger brother and the other relatives of the murdered man saw that he was not coming home, they went to look for him. They found him dead in the canoe, with his head cut off. The little dog was barking over the dead body. Every time he barked he would look straight up. This made them think that some one from above had committed the murder. The next day the younger brother went out to search for the murderer. He took an arrow and shot it straight into the air, and

¹ See Teit, "The Shuswap," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. II, p. 715; Farrand, "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians," *Ibid.* p. 19; Boas, "Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians," *Ibid.* vol. I, p. 111; Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 72.

² See another version of the same tale in Boas, "Traditions of the Tillamook Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XI, p. 136

then another one, and every arrow he shot hit the nock of the preceding one and stuck in it. He kept on shooting until the arrows reached the ground.

He climbed up on this chain and got to the top, where he met some Indians dancing around a man's head that they had brought home. It was his brother's head. He asked for the man who gave them this head, but he was not among them. One of their number told him that this man's wife was digging fern-roots at a certain place, and that he could find her there every morning. He went there and found the woman digging fern-roots on the banks of a river. He asked her some questions. "Do you own your canoe?" — "No." — "Then who ferries you across this river?" — "My husband always brings me over here." — "And what does he do after he has taken you across?" — "He goes back, and comes after me towards evening. He stops his boat at a little distance from the shore, and I jump in with my pack." — "What do you do with the fern-roots when you get home?" — "I dry them." — "And what do you do with them after they get dry?" — "I give them to every one in the village, except to an old couple that live not far from us." — "And what do you do afterwards?" — "Then I start cooking. I cook in a large pot and stir it with my hands." — "Don't you ever burn your hands?" — "No; it never hurts me." — "What does your husband do when you folks go to bed?" — "He goes to bed too. I always lie away from my husband, who falls asleep at once."

After he had asked all these questions, he killed the woman, put her skin on, and made himself look just like her. He then picked up her fern-roots and tied them together. Soon the husband came and stopped the canoe quite a distance away from the shore. The young man took the fern-roots on his shoulders and jumped aboard. But one of his feet touched the water, and he excused himself by saying, "I am tired and my pack is very heavy." The husband did not say anything, and the young man did exactly what the woman had told him. He made only one mistake by offering some fern-roots to the old couple. But they would not take them, and one of them exclaimed, "This woman belongs to the earth, and not here." Fortunately nobody from the other houses heard this remark.

When he came to the house where the murderer of his brother lived, he began to prepare supper. While stirring the pot with his hands, he burned them, and cried out, "Ouch! I have burnt my hands." The husband heard this, and asked, "What is the matter with you?" — "Oh, my finger is sore, and that is the reason why I cried out." Suddenly, while looking up, he saw his brother's head hanging down from the roof. He could not help crying every time he looked at it. When the husband asked for the reason of this, he answered, "There is so much smoke in the house that it hurts my eyes." When night came the supposed wife

went upstairs, and one of his brothers-in-law, on seeing him, said to his grandmother, "It seems to me that my sister-in-law looks like a man." But the old woman told the boy that the women belonging to their tribe always looked like men, and nobody spoke of it any more.

Later on, visitors from different places came and began to dance around the head, from which the blood was dripping all the time. After the dance was over, everybody went to bed. The young man took a large knife and punched a hole in every canoe in the village, except in the one that he was going to use. Then he went to bed with the husband; and as soon as the latter had gone to sleep, he cut his head off, took his brother's head, and made his escape in the canoe that he had saved. In the mean time the mother of the killed man, whose place was under the bed of her son, felt the blood dropping on her face. She made a light and saw what had happened. She woke the other people, and they soon found out that the supposed woman was gone, and with her the head that was hanging from the roof. They said, "That woman must have killed her husband," and they went after her. But since the canoes foundered as soon as they pushed them into the sea, they had to give up the chase.

In the mean time the young man climbed down the chain of arrows and got back to his village, bringing home the head of his brother. He gathered all his friends and told them to put his brother's head on to his body again. They went to work at once. There was a small spruce-tree against which they leaned the body of the dead man while they were trying to put the head back. But every time they tried, the head fell off. Finally, at the fifth trial, the head stayed on the body, which reached almost to the top of the little spruce-tree. Then the boy said to his brother, "Now you are well again." So the man went away from the tree.

The people from above could not come down to take revenge. The people of the village then said to the revived man, "You will be nothing but a woodpecker. The next generation will see you." And his children were woodpeckers, and had red heads because of the blood that was dripping from their father's head.

7. THE EAGLE-WOMAN

There was a woman at Takimiya in the shape of an eagle. Every man who came to Takimiya became her husband. After the wedding ceremony she would say to her husband, "Let us go to a nice place where there is lots of fun." She would then make him sit on her back, and would fly off with him to a place where there was a lake of soft pitch. After her arrival there, she would turn right over and throw the man into the lake, where he met a miserable death.

She did this for a long time. One day a young man dreamed about this woman, and how she was killing her husbands. He went to her and told her that he wanted to become her husband. She consented, and the next

day they started for the lake. When they arrived there, the woman began her efforts to throw her young husband into the lake. But he clung to her so closely that she did not succeed. Having tried a few times, she flew back to the place where they had come from. There the young man said to her, "Now you are my wife. Come with me." She could not refuse, and went aboard her husband's canoe with him and one of his younger brothers. Her brother-in-law steered the canoe; her husband stood at the bow, and she sat in the middle. As soon as they reached the sea, her husband began to rock the boat so violently that it soon filled with water. He kept on doing this until the terrified woman began to shiver from cold, and fainted. Only then he started back. When they came ashore, the woman sat down on the sand in order to get warm, and her husband said to her, "You will always remain an eagle, and the next generation will see you. You will live on whatever comes ashore on the beach." He then left her, and never came back again.

8. THE WOMEN WHO MARRIED THE BEAVER¹

Two girls, who lived in Takimiya, were sent by their parents to Tsketc. In this village lived the son of a rich man who had much shell-money and many otter-hides. He was a sea-otter hunter, and had a Beaver and Muskrat working for him. When the two girls came to his house and saw the Beaver, they thought that this was the place they were sent to, and they married the old Beaver. In the evening the Beaver went out fishing, and stayed away the whole night. On the next morning, when he came home, he said to one of his wives, "I have some trout in the canoe. The big trout is for you, and the small one for your sister." The girls went down to the shore, but found only an old snag and some willow-leaves and salmon-berry sticks around it. They went back and told their husband that all they found were some beaver-cuttings lying on the top of a snag. So the old Beaver became enraged and screamed, because he could not get anything to eat.

The next night he went out again, and was gone all night. This time, however, he brought home some trout, which the girls cooked and placed before him. But he could not eat it, because he had no teeth. Every time he took a morsel in his mouth, it would drop out again.

One morning the girls saw a man bathing in the creek just above their camp, dressed in clothes elaborately decorated with beads. The young man wanted to see the girls better, because they were nice-looking. So he turned into a sea-otter and swam about in the pond. The old Beaver and the Muskrat went aboard their canoe with the wives, and pursued the sea-otter. At one time the sea-otter came up very close to the canoe, and the Beaver grasped his bow and shot an arrow at it. It dropped into the water about halfway. Then the little Muskrat shot his arrow and

¹ See F. Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 20.

almost hit the otter. When the girls saw this, they said to the Beaver, "It is queer that you could not shoot farther than halfway, whereas your little brother almost hit the otter." This enraged the old Beaver, and he retorted, "Why don't you go with those who can throw an arrow farther than I can?"

When they came back to the house, the girls said, "We made a mistake. It must have been this young Sea-Otter our parents wanted us to marry." And both made up their minds to go to his house. They went there, and found a nice-looking young man in the house; and they said to him, "You are our husband." The young man consented, and they all went to bed. The next morning he woke up very ill. His body was full of pimples, sores, and maggots. So the younger girl did not want him any more. But her elder sister washed his body and took good care of him. One day she said to him, "We will take you home to our parents." The young man decided to go with them, and they started on their way. He was getting weaker and weaker. He could hardly walk, and his wife had to carry him part of the way. The younger girl paid no attention to him. Whenever they sat down to take a rest, she would sit apart from them. They had nearly reached the home of the girls, when the young man began to think that it was not nice to appear in such a condition before his parents-in-law. So he said to his wife, "Go on and wait for me at the house. I shall follow you very soon." He withdrew a short distance, washed, changed his clothes, and made himself look as attractive as he had been when the girls first saw him. When he came back to the girls, he looked so handsome that the younger sister liked him again. But he did not want to have anything to do with her, and went with her elder sister into the house of her parents.

By this time the old Beaver found out that the young chief had gone off with his wives. He gathered a great crowd, and went to kill the chief for having taken away his wives. When they came within two or three miles of the house, the Beaver said to his companions, "Stay here and wait for me. Should I be killed, you will smell swamp-root leaves." They remained there, and the Beaver went to the house and knocked at the door with a big knife. The door was opened, and he stepped in. But as soon as he entered, the inhabitants killed him, took away his knife, and made his tail out of it. Then they threw him into the swamp, and said, "Now you will always remain a beaver. The next generation will see you." The companions whom he had left behind him soon smelled swamp-roots, and, knowing that the beaver was dead, turned back and went home.

9. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE BEAR

Once upon a time a young girl went out to pick berries. As she went along, she met a man, who invited her to his house. He was a fine-looking

man, and the girl said to herself, "I think I will go with him. He is a nice-looking man, and wants me for his wife." So she went with him to his house. But before they got home she gave birth to a child. In the house of her husband's father she saw many bears, and soon her husband himself turned into a bear. She began to feel bad, and did not know what to do. She wanted to go home, but could not remember the way.

One day she went out to pick berries, leaving her little boy at home. Soon she had filled her basket. But on her way home she fell and spilled all the berries. While standing there and looking at the spilled berries, she saw many small frogs, and made up her mind to take some of them home for her boy to play with. So she took some grass and caught many of the frogs, wrapped them up, and took them home. When she came home, her husband asked her whether she had brought any berries. She answered, "No, I spilled them all on my way home. But I brought many pets for my boy to play with." He wanted to see what these pets were, and she unwrapped the bundle and threw the frogs right on her husband. This scared him so much that he ran away. His father and the whole household became frightened, and all ran away. The woman then took her child and went home to her people, who said to these bears, "You will always remain bears, and in the next generation, whenever you see anybody, you will run away."

10. THE COUNTRY OF THE SOULS

An Indian who lived in a certain village suddenly became ill. He had three sons, and said to them, "If I should die, let me lie five days before you bury me." Soon he died, and his sons kept the body in the house over night. On the next morning they put him outside, at a distance from the house. They laid him on a board, put a couple of boards on each side edgewise and one on top, and, although they watched him, they did not see that he had gone, because his body remained there.

His soul, however, went away. As soon as he started, he lost his way and did not know where to go. Finally he came to a wide trail. He saw fresh tracks on the trail and alongside of it. So he followed these tracks. Sticks were lying across the trail, marked with red paint by people who had touched them. Soon he came to the top of the trail; and when he began to go on a downhill grade, he heard sea-gulls and eagles making a noise. He wondered where those birds could be, because he could not see them. Then he came to a village. When the people from the village saw him, they began to shout from the other side, "A man is coming down, a man is coming down!" And they all ran to their canoes and went to fetch him. But he went to the landing-place and stood there smiling, because some of them had just pieces of canoes, others only half-canoes, and the rest of the canoes had holes punched in one end.

When the people came nearer, he saw among them his father, his eldest brother, and many other people whom he knew. But they did not land. They only looked at him from the river, and said, "You are a *stōndi*." And his father said to him, "Your grandmother is living down the river. Go there." So he went to the place where his grandmother was; and when he came there, he saw his grandfather sitting by the door and whittling a small stick, while his grandmother was sitting just inside the door, making a small basket. He greeted them, and they all went into the house. The house was very clean and nice. In one corner of the room there was a small basket hanging from the wall. The old man soon built a fire, took this basket down, put his hands three times into it, and took out a small dish. Then he put back the little basket, and placed the dish in front of his grandson, who at first could not see anything in it. But when he looked again, it was full of lice. He became scared and threw the dish into the fire. The lice began to crack and snap in the fire; and the old man said to him, "Oh, my grandson, people always eat lice when they come here first." His grandparents knew all the time that he was a *stōndi*, but they did not tell him. They told him, however, that a woman had arrived the day before, and that they were going to dance for her, and play shinny, cards, and many other games, after the dance. After a while the man looked through the window, and saw a fish-trap built clean across the river; and he thought to himself, "I am going to cross the river on the dam this evening." But his grandparents told him not to go down to the river, because something might get hold of him and devour him. He obeyed them and stayed in the house. But the next morning he said to himself, "I will go down and take a swim. I wonder why they did not want me to go down to the river." So he left the house and began to wade out into the river. Soon eels began to stick to his legs, and hung fast. But they did not bother him, and he kept on swimming. After he was through swimming, he took two of the largest eels into the house. His grandparents were sitting by the fire; when he came in, he placed the eels near them. But the old couple became scared. The old woman crawled away on her hands and knees to the end of the house, and the old man hid himself in a corner. In the mean time the young man whittled a small stick and roasted the eels on it. When they were about to be done, they began to smell very nice, and the old people came out from their corners and partook of the meal.

In the evening, after the old people had gone to bed, the young man crossed the river on the fish-weir, and came to the dance-house. He looked in, and saw a woman whom he knew. She was standing in the middle of the room, and people were dancing around her in a circle. Every one who went by touched her on the top of the head. Soon the dancers noticed him, and they began to shout, "Do you see that *stōndi* outdoors looking into the house?" The young man ran away, and went

back to his grandparents, who said to him, "Whenever anybody comes here and eats lice, he becomes a resident of this village, and cannot go back any more. You are still a live person and able to go back." But he did not want to go back yet, because he wanted to take another good look at the dance. So, when night came, he crossed the river again and went to the dance-house. There the same woman was distributing presents which had been put in her grave when she was buried, saying, "Your brother sends you this; your father sent you this; your mother sends you this." When the people in the house saw him, they said, "That *stōndi* is looking in again. Do you see him?" So he went back to his grandparents, and said, "My children are waiting for me, and I have to go back." And about eight o'clock he started on his way home.

In the mean time his body, that was lying near the house covered up with boards, was getting rotten. His mouth came out of shape, and his flesh was beginning to look like a sponge. Near noontime on the fifth day, his corpse began to crack and squeak. It squeaked four times, and his sons took away the boards carefully. When it squeaked the fifth time, the body seemed to move. Then his children took off all covers from him, except a single blanket. As soon as this was done, his body stopped squeaking. Suddenly he began to move his arms and legs under the blanket, and soon he stretched his feet. His oldest son was watching him all the time. He had made a blazing fire by his side. The dead man threw off his blanket and sat up. His long hair was hanging down in front of him, and reached way down to his waist. His son said to him, "My father, I am watching you. I have been watching you all the time." To this he replied something that the boy could not understand. And the boy said to him, "My father, I do not know what you said." So he said to his son, "I have some lunch here in a little basket. You may eat it. Your grandmother sends it to you." But the boy could not see the basket at all, and shouted to his brothers, "Come here, our father has come back!" They all hurried up and came to see their father. They wanted to warm some water and bathe him in it; but he said, "I am not going to take a bath, my children. I got back all right." His eyes appeared to be swelled, as if he had been asleep for a long time. When he arose from the ground, he said to his sons, "You need not eat the lunch I brought now. You can look for it in the water to-morrow. I have in it one cooked and one fresh flounder." On the next morning the boys found many flounders in the river, some half cooked, and others half fresh, swimming about in the water. And this man never grew old, but always remained a young man. Only his children were getting old, very, very old.

II. THE LONG NIGHT

Once upon a time night came, and the daylight never appeared. And people woke up just the same as they did in the daytime, although it was dark. And then they would get sleepy and go to bed again. In the night they would take torches and chop wood by this light. But people began to starve, because they could not hunt or fish in the dark. It was thus perfectly dark for about ten days, and people began to think that the sun had gone way down south. On the eleventh day they saw the sun rise from the south, and stop over their heads as at noon. And the sun stayed there for a whole day, and it never grew dark. Then the sun started again slowly, and went down its usual way. The next day it rose from the east as usual. And after that people were satisfied, because all kinds of fish came ashore, which they picked up and divided among themselves.

12. THE BATTLE IN THE AIR

Once upon a time two Indians met each other. One of them had a fisher-dog, and the other a dog made of fur-seal skin filled with a sort of gravel. When they met, the man with the fur-seal dog asked the other one whether he was a man of importance. Scarcely had he asked this question when the fisher-dog jumped at him. But he dodged, and said to his dog, "If I should give out, come and help me." He began to fight with the dog. But he soon gave out and asked his dog for help. The two dogs clashed. They stood up on their hind-legs and fought vigorously. Neither of them fell. Soon they started to go up in the air slowly, until they were out of sight. They kept on going up until they came to the moon. There the stone dog chewed up the arms and legs of the fisher-dog, and remained the sole inhabitant of the moon. And this is the dog who looks like a man, and whom people see in the moon.

13. THE UNDERGROUND PEOPLE

In a village on Coos Bay lived a people called Baltiasa. They were big, tall Indians, and lived underground. Their food was fish, which they caught on long fish-poles and then swung ashore, no matter how large the fish was. Their greatest sport was to dive in the water. They could dive and swim under water across the river and back again. They made pots of stones. They could float large stones. Whenever they floated stones, they would talk to heaven, that the rock should not sink. They could put a rock on the water, stand on top of it, and it would never sink. They could also float on feathers. They caught oysters by putting a rock on the top of their heads and walking around under the water. Their hats were made of carbuncles (?), and their knives of big, hard bones. They would club each other with these knives over the head without being hurt. They were very mean, and all the other Indians

were afraid of them. They abused the Indians so much that it was decided to drive them out by force. This was done, and those people made two rafts, and went down the river until they came to the ocean. But the water was very rough. So they poured seal-oil on the water, and the ocean became perfectly smooth. They then sailed away, and separated later. One raft went north, and the other south. And nobody knows where they went, because they were never seen again.

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THE BALLAD OF HIND HORN

BY WALTER R. NELLES

INVESTIGATORS of the Horn story have usually dealt primarily with the two earlier romance versions, — the Norman French *Horn et Rimel*¹ (HR) and the English "Geste of King Horn" (KH),² — treating slightly, if at all, the Scottish popular ballad of "Hind Horn."³ The question with regard to the ballad has been whether or not it is derived from the fourteenth-century English romance of "Horn Childe and Maiden Rimmild" (HC),⁴ which is generally believed to be derived from HR. This paper will be primarily concerned with the history and origin of the ballad, touching upon the romance versions of the story so far as they throw light upon these matters. I shall consider, first, the relation of the ballad and HC; and, second, the origin of the ballad.

I

The resemblances which indicate a connection between the ballad and HC are three in number.⁵

1. Horn's mistress gives him a ring which will change color if she is unfaithful to him during his absence. In the ballad she says,

"Whan that ring keeps new in hue,
Ye may ken that your love loves you.

"Whan that ring turns pale and wan
Ye may ken that your love loves anither man.'" (G, 5-6.)

Rimmild says in HC,

"When the ston wexeth wan
Than chaungeth the thouzt of thi leman,
Take than anewe;
When the ston wexeth rede,
Than haue y lorn mi maidenhed,
Oþaines the vntrewe.'" (ll. 571-576.)

¹ References are to the edition by Michel for the Bannatyne Club, Paris, 1846; the line numbers agree with those of the edition by Brede and Stengel, Marburg, 1883. The oldest MS. is of the twelfth century; see Hartenstein, *Studien zur Hornsage*, Heidelberg, 1902, p. 19.

² References are to the C text of Hall's edition, Oxford, 1901. The oldest MS. is of the early thirteenth century; see Hall's Introduction.

³ No. 17 of Professor Child's collection, vol. 4, pp. 187-208; see, also, Additions and Corrections in each of the five volumes. Professor Child prints nine versions, designated by the letters A, B, C, etc.

⁴ References are to the text published by Caro, *Eng. Stud.* xii, pp. 351-356.

⁵ The bride's offer to elope, A 20-21, has been cited as a particular resemblance to HC, ll. 1030 sq.; but HR, ll. 4301 sq. affords nearly as close a resemblance; see *infra*, pp. 51 and 52.

There is a ring in HR and in KH, but its stone does not change color. Its only virtue is to preserve the wearer from harm by fire or water, in battle and in tournament.

2. In the ballad and HC, Horn, returning at the time of his mistress's wedding, meets a beggar and changes clothes with him. In HR and KH it is a palmer that he meets.

3. The ballad concludes,

"The bridegroom he had wedded the bride
But young Hind Horn he took her to bed." (A 24; cf. B 24, C 23.)

HC reads,

"Now is Rimenild trils wedde,
Horn brougt hir to his bedde." (ll. 1111-1112.)

This resemblance is almost verbal; there is no similar passage in HR or KH.

Two theories to account for these resemblances have been advanced. Professor Stimming, in his review of Wissmann's edition of Horn, said, "Die übereinstimmung jener züge lässt sich ja zur genüge aus dem umstande erklären, dass sowohl die balladen als auch" Horn Childe "im norden entstanden sind, so dass also beide der gestaltung folgten, welche die sage in diesen gegenden angenommen hatte."¹ Professor Child was inclined towards the same view: "The likeness evinces a closer affinity of the oral tradition with the later English or the French, but no filiation. And were filiation to be accepted, there would remain the question of priority. It is often assumed, without a misgiving, that oral tradition must needs be younger than anything that was committed to writing some centuries ago; but this requires in each case to be made out; there is certainly no antecedent probability of that kind."²

The closeness of their resemblances makes this theory that HC and the ballad are independent of each other difficult of acceptance. Professor Schofield holds that there is filiation, and that the features in which HC and the ballad agree originated in the former.³ He bases this conclusion on the character of HC: "The poem is a product of a late period, when old themes were being boldly remodelled to satisfy depraved tastes, when in the composition of romances little respect was paid to the authenticity of tradition, when art was yielding to artifice and originality to convention."⁴ Accordingly, he holds that HC was the source of the ballad, and that the features common to the two were introduced into the Horn story by the author of HC, a professional seeker-out of innovations.

My own examination of the subject leads me to agree with Mr.

¹ Eng. Stud. i, p. 361.

² Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads, vol. i, p. 193.

³ Schofield, "The Story of Horn and Rimenhild," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Am.* xviii, p. 78.

⁴ Page 75.

Schofield that HC and the ballad are related. I also agree that the author of HC made innovations. But that the specific features common to HC and the ballad were among his innovations, remains, I think, to be proved. We find these features in a literary version and in a popular version of the story. As Professor Child pointed out, there is no antecedent probability that their first occurrence was in the literary version. The author of HC, according to Mr. Schofield's own character of him, would not have restricted himself to a single source. If, in addition to the French romance, HR, he was acquainted with a ballad version of the Horn story, he would have used both in the composition of his work. His work gives numerous indications that he was familiar with folk-lore. There is no antecedent probability that, when he wrote, a Horn ballad was not already extant. And the character of two, at least, of the features common to HC and "Hind Horn" is such that they cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the theory that they originated in such a ballad.

Among the features indicating the author's familiarity with folk-lore may conceivably be included the historical setting of HC.¹ Mr. Schofield, while admitting the possibility that the author may have got his stories of Danish raids from oral tradition, considers a written source more likely. The departures from authentic history, he thinks, are due to the hodge-podging tendency of the degenerate minstrelsy of which HC is an example. He further points out the likeness in spirit between passages of HC and passages of such *literary* productions as "The Battle of Maldon" and "The Battle of Brunanburh." This second argument, which is interesting though inconclusive, is not directly answerable.² As to the first, however, it seems, though here also there is ample room for difference of opinion, somewhat more likely that the corruptions of authentic history should have come about in oral tradition than that they should be wilful perversions by a writer. The corruptions are in the nature of confusions of persons and events; Hatheolf in HC seems to stand for King Ethelred II, for Eadulf, Earl of Northumberland in 966, and for a certain Uchtred, who in 1006 routed Malcolm II of Scotland at Bamborough; Malcolm II is confused with Malcolm I, and, according to Deutschbein,

¹ Schofield, pp. 66 *sq.*, points out the originals of the events in the first 500 ll. of HC in the history of northern England under the heptarchy. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagen-geschichte Englands*, I, pp. 89 *sq.*, supplies additional historical parallels.

² I question, however, if a certain analogy might not also be pointed out between HC and the Border ballads. The Border ballads are, of course, more practical and matter-of-fact. The struggles they commemorate are between men who knew each other by name and by sight, who spoke the same language, and who fought to a considerable extent for the sheer joy of fighting — in some ways not unlike the conflicts of hostile "gangs" of schoolboys. But in commemorating struggles such as those in HC, battles with savage invaders from over sea, perhaps the popular muse might have been capable of an exaltation comparable with that of passages in HC.

with still another Malcolm. "An interchange of names," says Professor Child, "is of the commonest occurrence in traditional ballads."¹ When we consider that Danish and Scottish raids were of more than annual occurrence in Northumbria during the reign of Ethelred II, it seems inevitable that they and the warriors concerned in them should have confused themselves in the popular memory. That the departures from authentic history in HC are due *directly* to such confusion in the popular memory is of course only one of a number of possibilities; but it seems a not unlikely one.

Several other features of HC are less doubtfully of a folk-lore character. While in any single case it may be questioned if the author had not a written source, the aggregate is large enough to warrant a conviction that he had a considerable first-hand acquaintance with folk-lore. King Hatheolf was so formidable in fight that his enemies durst not approach him, but stoned him to death from a distance.² Similar stonings occur in Norse mythology.³ Horn's sword was wrought by Weland.⁴ It seems certain that the Weland myth was naturalized in England from early Anglo-Saxon times.⁵ It was perpetuated among the folk, not in books; Halliwell⁶ asserts that it is mentioned in no known Middle English poem except HC and "Sir Torrent of Portugal," which dates from the next century. Still another feature seemingly derived from Germanic mythology is the well under a tree, which would indicate to Rimnild the constancy of Horn's affection.⁷ This suggests the well of Frau Holde, known

¹ *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, iii, p. 451. Mr. W. M. Patterson has supplied me with a number of instances from the Border ballads. It is sufficient to mention the ballad of *Otterburn*, Version B, where Earl Percy is substituted for Harry Percy; and *The Rising in the North*, Child, No. 175, where Richard Norton is called by the name of his eldest son, Francis, and Francis is confused with the fourth son.

² Ll. 214-216.

³ Schofield, p. 74, cites Norse *Hampismál*, st. 25, and *Völsungasaga*, ch. 42.

⁴ Ll. 400 sq.

⁵ See Binz, *Paul u. Braune Beiträge*, xx, pp. 186 sq. Though certain of the allusions to Weland in early English literature may be re-importations from the continent, independent of English tradition, the place-names cited by Binz and the local traditions, such as that used by Scott in *Kenilworth*, leave scarcely a doubt that the myth was firmly established on English soil.

⁶ Ed. of *Sir Torrent of Portugal*, London, 1842, p. 7.

⁷ "In thine erber is a tre,
Thevnder is a wel fre,
Ygrowen al with yue:
Rimnild, for the lous of me,
Eueriday that thou ther be,
To se the water lithe:
& when thou seest mi schadu thare,
Than trowe thou me namare,
Than am y bon to wue;
& while thou seest mi schadu nouȝt,
Than chaungeth neuer mi thouȝt,
For no woman ollue." (ll. 577 sq.)

in modern German fairy-lore as the abode of unborn infants.¹ The chain of evidence is incomplete; but it is not hard to conjecture that the places sacred to Frau Holde, the pagan German Venus, who in early Christian times got confused with the Virgin Mary, should have acquired a significance in matters of love and chastity. Such a superstition might have settled in England in much the same fashion as the Weland myth. I have found record of what may be a trace of it in Cornwall.²

There is nothing to indicate that any of these features were connected with the story of Horn earlier than HC. I have mentioned them merely to establish a likelihood that the author of that romance used popular as well as literary material. In what follows I believe it will appear that the features in which HC and the ballad of "Hind Horn" agree found their way into the romance from a popular source, and, further, that that source was a ballad already connected with the Horn story.

In the first place, I wish to emphasize the nature of the most striking of these features, — the ring which will change color if the lady is untrue. It is a test of chastity or fidelity. As such, it is a talisman of a class well known in folk-lore. Professor Child, in his introduction to "The Boy and the Mantle," gives a long list of such tests.³ The talisman is not usually a ring. Sometimes it is a flower,⁴ nosegay,⁵ or garland,⁶ which will remain fresh so long as the wife or mistress is faithful; sometimes a shirt⁷ which will not soil or tear; sometimes a mirror⁸ which will remain clear.

The ring in HC and "Hind Horn" is clearly a test of this sort:

" 'When the ston wexeth wan
Than chaungeth the thougt of thi leman,
When the ston wexeth rede,
Then have y lorn mi maidenhed.' "

No property other than the indication of chastity or fidelity is specified. But it should be observed that a test of chastity or fidelity is not what the circumstances call for. In neither the ballad nor the romance is there question of the lady's intention to be true to her lover. The ring does not change color because her thought has changed, or because she loves another man, or because she has lost her maidenhead. On the contrary, the change of color takes place because she is in danger; unless Horn

¹ Kelly, *Curiosities of European Tradition and Folk-Lore*, London, 1863, p. 92; Gölther, *Germanische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 498; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Berlin, 1878, vol. I, pp. 222 sq.

² M. A. Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folk-Lore*, Penzance, 1890, p. 63.

³ *Ballads*, I, pp. 268 sq. See, also, Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, London, 1887, pp. 172 sq.

⁴ *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, transl. Tawney, I, p. 86; *Romance of Perceforest*.

⁵ Persian *Tāti Nāma*.

⁶ *Amadis de Gaul*; *Wright's Chaste Wife*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1865.

⁷ *Continental Gesta Romanorum*, 69; Curtze, *Volksüberlieferung aus Waldeck*, p. 146.

⁸ Clouston, I, p. 174.

comes to her rescue she will be forced into an obnoxious marriage. In order for the talisman to fit the story, the indication of the lady's danger should have been specified as one of its properties.

Talismans with properties which would fit the story are exceedingly common in folk-lore. Mr. Clouston¹ has assembled, under the heading "Life Tokens," a large number of examples. "The welfare or danger," he says, "of the heroes of many folk-tales, is indicated by a magical flower, or some other object, which they leave behind with their friends, on setting out upon perilous adventures." Among such life-tokens are the following: a glove which will drop blood,² a ring which will press hard upon the finger,³ a knife which will let fall three drops of blood at table,⁴ a flower which will fade,⁵ plants which will fade.⁶ Professor Child summarizes the following:⁷ "A prince, on parting with his sister, gives her a ring, saying, 'So long as the stone is clear, I am well; if it is dimmed, that is a sign that I am dead.'"

In addition to the general similarity between the two classes of talismans, it will be noted that the same object which indicates chastity or fidelity often under other circumstances serves to indicate welfare or danger. It would therefore seem natural that talismans of the two classes should in popular tradition tend to confuse or combine. I have found two popular ballads where the functions of indicator of fidelity and indicator of danger appear so to have combined. In both cases, moreover, the talisman is a ring.

The first is accessible only in a sophisticated version. It is a Gaelic legend of the Hebrides, "beautifully versified," says Clouston, by John Leyden as "The Mermaid."⁸ Leyden's introduction says, "The following poem is founded upon a Gaelic traditional ballad, called 'Macphail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Corrivrekin.'" In this ballad Macphail, on going to the wars, receives a ring from his lady.

"When on this ring of ruby red
Shall die," said she, "the crimson hue,
Know that thy favorite fair is dead,
Or proves to thee and love untrue."⁹

¹ I, pp. 169 sq.

² Russian tale of Ivan Popyalof, Ralston's collection.

³ Jonathan Scott, *Arabian Nights*, vi, p. 161.

⁴ The Icelandic story of the *Farmer's Three Daughters*.

⁵ The story of Chitrsekhar and Somasekhara, H. H. Wilson, *Descr. Catal. of the Oriental MSS., etc., collected by Colonel C. Mackenzie*, Calcutta, 1828, i, p. 51.

⁶ Rev. James Sibra, Jr., "Malagasy Folk-Tales," *Folk-Lore Journal* for 1884, ii, 52, 130.

⁷ From Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, i, 39, No. 7. See Child, i, p. 201.

⁸ Leyden, *Poems and Ballads*, Kelso, 1858, pp. 245 sq.

⁹ Macphail is carried off by a mermaid while passing the Gulf of Corrivrekin, and lives with her for several years in a grotto under the sea, the color of his ring remaining steadily unchanged. The mermaid sees the ring on his finger and covets it. Macphail promises it to her on condition that she bear him up in the neighborhood of Colonsay. She does so; he leaves her and rejoins his early love.

The other instance of a combination of talismanic functions is in the ballad of "Bonny Bee Hom."¹ Here the story is a simple one of a lover who leaves his mistress. At parting she makes him gifts:

"7. She has gien him a chain of the beaten gowd,
And a ring with a ruby stone:
'As lang as this chain your body binds,
Your blude can never be drawn.

"8. 'But gin this ring should fade or fall,
Or the stone should change its hue,
Be sure your love is dead and gone,
Or she has proved untrue."

(Version A, Alexander Fraser Tytler's Brown MS., No. 6.)

Within a twelvemonth the stone grows dark and gray, telling the lover that his mistress is dead. He himself dies of grief.

The likeness of the talismans in this ballad to that in the Horn story is extraordinarily interesting. For with the ring which combines the functions of indicating fidelity and welfare is associated another talisman, — a chain of gold that confers invulnerability. Invulnerability is the property, and the only property, of Horn's ring in HR and KH.

Furthermore, in Version B — Buchan's — of "Bonny Bee Hom" (which, though a pretty poor ballad, is sophisticated only in regard to phraseology), there is no chain. It is the ring which, like the ring in HR and KH, confers invulnerability. The functions of indicating fidelity and welfare are dropped — with the result that, if we had not Version A, we should not know the meaning of the ring's change of color. This is precisely analogous to the ring's irrelevance of function in HC and the ballad of "Hind Horn." There a talisman to indicate fidelity is substituted for a life-token; here a talisman which confers invulnerability is substituted for a life-token. The analogy suggests an explanation of the inconsistency of the talisman in HC and "Hind Horn."

Suppose that before the composition of HC there was in existence a ballad dealing with the story of Horn. At a stage of this ballad roughly contemporary with HR and KH, Horn's ring, like the ring in those romances, had probably only the property of rendering him invulnerable, and he was warned of Riminhild's danger by a messenger or by a dream.

Suppose also that there was in existence at the same time a ballad, not necessarily connected with the story of Horn, in which, as in Leyden's "Mermaid" and "Bonny Bee Hom," a lover's ring would warn him of his mistress's death or danger by changing color. Suppose also that in still another contemporary ballad a ring's change of color indicated infidelity.

Would it not be thoroughly in accord with the principles of ballad formation for these three talismans to combine and confuse? Professor Gummere, in explanation of the stock phrases of the ballads, says: "The

¹ Child, No. 92, vol. II, pp. 317-319.

main point is that ballad folk do the same things under the same circumstances, and in a fairly limited sphere of events."¹ This remark applies to the case in hand as well as to stock phrases. The ballad tendency is to reduce all sorts of details to fairly restricted types. If a reciter knew three ballads such as we have supposed, each containing a magical ring with a different property, he would not bother to keep these rings distinct. The ring section of each ballad would be stored in the same chamber of his memory, where the three would quickly become one. This one he would produce whenever any ballad he happened to be reciting required a magical ring. His stock ring stanza might be a combination of the three he had heard, as in Version A of "Bonny Bee Hom;" or it might be a single one of them, as in "Hind Horn." That the significance of the ring was not the significance required by his story, that it indicated infidelity when it ought to have indicated danger, would not trouble him in the least. The popular mind is inaccurate; it contents itself with approximating its meaning, and does not quibble upon nice distinctions.

This seems the most natural way of accounting for the inappropriate significance of the ring in "Hind Horn;" HC must have followed in this particular a popular version of the Horn story which tradition has imperfectly preserved as the modern ballad of "Hind Horn." It is scarcely probable that the color-changing ring was a deliberate innovation of the fourteenth-century romance-writer, for in that case nothing was to prevent him from making its significance appropriate. A fourteenth-century romance-writer, as well as a greater poet, might nod; but he would scarcely admit such an inconsistency as we find in HC unless he were following authority.² And his authority could scarcely have been anything but a popular ballad.

The two other features common to HC and "Hind Horn" may easily be conceived as parts of an hypothetical thirteenth-century Horn ballad. The first is that the person with whom Horn changes clothes on his return is a beggar, instead of a palmer as in HR and KH. The beggar and the palmer were not far removed in the popular mind. In Version A of the ballad called "Little John a Begging,"³ Little John's disguise is as

¹ Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, Boston, 1907, p. 305.

² HC becomes involved in this inconsistency when the ring is first described (in the lines quoted on p. 42). It is possible that the author perceived his inconsistency when it came time for Horn to be summoned home by the ring's change of color. For he does not state that the stone "waxed wan," which would have meant that Rímnild's heart had changed towards Horn; or that it "waxed red," which would have indicated her unchastity. He says merely,

"The hue was chaunged of the stan,
For gon is seuen þere." (ll. 839-840.)

Even if he perceived the inconsistency, however, the likelihood that it was due in the first instance to the authority of a popular ballad remains undiminished.

³ Child, No. 142.

a beggar; in Version B of the same ballad he disguises himself as a palmer.¹

Furthermore, the treatment of the beggar in HC involves an inconsistency, which, like the inconsistency of the ring, can best be explained as due to a popular source. Seeing the beggar walking along,

"Horn fast after him gan ride
& bad the beggar shuld abide,
For to here his speche.
The beggar answerd in that tide:
'Vilaine, canestow noight ride?
Fairer thou might me grete;
Haddestow cleped me gude man,
Y wold haue told the wennes y cam
& whom y go to seche.'" (ll. 853-861.)

This certainly calls to mind the sturdy Beggar, or Potter, or Tanner, or Pedlar of the Robin Hood ballads.² One expects a challenge to play at quarter staff. But there is no such challenge; the beggar's surliness is quite irrelevant. His tone changes immediately; and without solicitation from Horn (whom he has not recognized), he proceeds to announce that he is Wiard, one of Horn's faithful companions in former days, and that he has been seeking Horn to warn him of the impending marriage of Rimnild. His irrelevant surliness is, I think, a borrowing from a Horn ballad. The stock figure of the surly beggar might easily, in a long course of oral transmission, have transferred itself to the hypothetical Horn ballad from some ballad in which it properly belonged. This would be another illustration of the same process by which, probably, the ring whose change of color indicates infidelity attached itself to the Horn story.³ The resulting inconsistencies in both cases are such as the author of HC is unlikely to have been originally responsible for. Finding these inconsistent features in an authority, however, he may well have considered that their strikingness outweighed their inconsequence, and therefore have included them in his version. That the surly beggar has disappeared from the extant Horn ballad is, of course, no evidence at all that he did not figure in its hypothetical ancestor.⁴

¹ The Palmer in HR is addressed as contemptuously as if he were a beggar (ll. 3730-3732).

² Child, Nos. 121 (stanzas 10-13), 126, 132, 134, 142 (Version B, 10).

³ The extant ballad of *Hind Horn* furnishes several instances of the tendency of ballads to borrow from other ballads. Professor Child points out that B 1, F 3, H 4, are from the *Whummil Bore*, No. 27; and conjectures that G 16-22, H 18-20, are from some Robin Hood ballad. G 35-36, H 33-34, might have drifted in from such a ballad as *The Jolly Beggar*, No. 279, one of the numerous class of tales in which an apparent poor man turns out to be a rich lord. The wand which Horn leaves his lady in Versions A 3, B 3, F 4, G 3, I 2, is probably a token of regency; it may have been taken over from a lost ballad version of some story of the *heimkehrer* type, in a great number of which the hero is a potentate who leaves his wife to rule when he goes on a crusade; see Child, I, 193 sq.; Spletstößer, *Der Heimkehrer Gatte und sein Weib in der Weltliteratur*, Berlin, 1899.

⁴ In fact, the beggar in the extant ballad, who gives Horn instructions in his art, is

For the third feature common to HC and "Hind Horn," — the identity of idea phrased in the romance

"Now is Rymnild twis wedde,
Horn brouȝt hir to his bedde," —

I can cite no specific evidence that it belonged to the hypothetical ballad. But if HC took the two other features from such a ballad, pretty certainly it took this one too. The narrator's gusto at the discomfiture of the would-be bridegroom seems quite in the ballad vein.

The purpose of what has preceded has been to establish a probability that the extant Horn ballad descends, independently of HC, from an hypothetical version earlier than that romance. This probability is strengthened by certain agreements of the extant ballad with the two older romances (HR and KH), in points where HC takes a different way.

1. In the ballad, when Horn, disguised at the wedding-feast, has dropped his ring in the bride's cup, she does not at once recognize him, but asks how he got the ring:

" 'Got ye't by sea, or got ye't by land,
Or got ye't aff a drowned man's hand?'"

(D 28; cf. A 18, B 18, C 20, D 13, H 28, I 12.)

In HC she at once suspects his identity (ll. 1001 sq.).

In HR she asks if Horn be alive or dead, hinting, however, a suspicion that the supposed palmer is he (ll. 4241 sq.). In KH, as in the ballad, she asks him where he got the ring, not suspecting him of being other than he seems; he replies that Horn, dying on shipboard, had intrusted it to him:

"Ifond horn child stonde
To schupeward in londe.
He sede he wolde agease
To ariue in westernesee.
The schip nam to the fode
With me & horn the gode;
Horn was silk & delde,
& faire he me preide:
'Go with the rings
To Rymenhild the ȝonge.'
Ofte he it custe;
God ȝeue his saule reste." (ll. 1179 sq.)

The ballad is here close to KH. The form in which the question is put implies such a reply as that in KH; it seems clear that in an earlier version of the ballad Horn tested the lady further with a fictitious account of his own death in some fashion connected with the sea.¹

2. In the ballad, after Horn has revealed himself to the bride, she at first believes that he is poor and friendless as he seems; she offers to share his poverty:

probably a case of more recent borrowing; compare G 16, H 18, with *Little John a Begging*, No 142, A 5.

¹ Compare *Küchle Boy*, Version A, stanza 35; Version B, stanzas 48, 49; see *infra*, Appendix, p. 60.

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"O I'll cast off my gowns of brown,
And beg wi you frae town to town.

"O I'll cast off my gowns of red,
And I'll beg wi you to win my bread." (A 20-21.)

Horn quickly explains that he is not really poor:

"Ye needna cast off your gowns of brown,
For I'll make you lady o many a town.

"Ye needna cast off your gowns of red,
It's only a sham, the begging o my bread."
(A 22-23; cf. B 20-23, G 31-36, H 31-34, I 14-19.)

Given In HC Rimnild offers to elope with Horn; but he does not imply, nor does she believe, that he is poor and friendless (v. ll. 1030 sq.).

In KH there is nothing about either poverty or elopement.

In HR, however, Horn explicitly declares that he is in poverty:

"Mès joe ai conversé entre mut male gent,
Ki mut poi m'unt doné: n'ai conquesté neent.
Or me sui cà venu cum tafur poverement.
Ne vus sai ù mener; joe n'ai or ne argent,
Ne n'ai en tut le siecle un point de chasement:
E joe sui soffraltus, n'ai fors coe qu'al col me pent,
Ne vus ai dont coverir nels un garnement.
Ki suef est nurri poet soffrir malement
Issi grant poverté cum joe, chaitif, atent." (ll. 4288 sq.)

Rimel then offers to share his poverty:

"Par Deul chiers amis duz, poi savez mun talent:
Itiel cum vus soffrez sofferrai bonement,
U ja mais ne verrai nul autre ajornement.
Il n'ad si riche rei de ci k'en Orient,
Pur quei vus guerpiase od tiel aturnement." (ll. 4301 sq.)

Horn explains that his poverty was only a sham: he has three hundred ships and many hardy cavaliers. Obviously HR is here strikingly in accord with the ballad.

These two resemblances between the extant ballad and the older romances in points where HC does not follow them stand squarely in the way of the theory that HC is the source of the ballad. It has been shown that the features common to HC and the ballad are not necessarily derived from the former. The circumstances in fact point strongly towards the existence, earlier than HC, of a Horn ballad containing those features, together with features found also in HR and KH.

II

Can either HR or KH be regarded as a source for this hypothetical ballad? Of the resemblances above pointed out between the ballad and the earlier romances, one was particularly to KH, the other particularly to HR. It therefore appears that the ballad descends from a lost version of the story combining features of HR and KH.

That this lost version was a recombination of HR and KH is unlikely. The two poems are radically different in character and appeal, — the one French and courtly, intended for the delectation of the aristocracy; the other English and homely, intended for whatsoever thane, innkeeper, or franklin would give the minstrel a meal for the hearing of it. Their paths would not be likely to converge.

The more probable case is that this lost version preceded HR and KH. The one point upon which recent students of the story are tolerably agreed is that a French version of some sort must stand back of these two romances.¹ It is possible that this lost French version was the source of the ballad.² But another possibility is open. It is pretty generally admitted that this lost French version was preceded by a version in Anglo-Saxon.³ Among an Anglo-Saxon folk it seems much more likely that a popular ballad should have grown out of this than that it should have grown out of a French romance or lay.

There is extant one document which affords a fairly clear conception of the contents of this Anglo-Saxon version. The "Gesta Herwardi" is not, to be sure, a version of the Horn story. It is a monkish Latin account of the adventures, historical and apocryphal, of Hereward the Saxon,⁴ who headed the last resistance against William the Conqueror at Ely, in 1071. The first chapters purport to be based upon an Anglo-Saxon account of Hereward's youth, by Leofric, his Chaplain. In Chapters 3-5 Leofric appears to be adapting to the career of Hereward a set of adventures from some version of the Horn story. Leofric's adaptation combines features of HR, KH, and the ballad; I have little doubt that the version which he used was their common ancestor.

In Chapters 3 and 4 Hereward's escape from Cornwall, and exploits in Ireland, bear a general resemblance to Horn's banishment from the court of Hunlaf and subsequent exploits in Ireland. But exile stories must have been common in England before the Conquest; the resemblance is not so close that it could not be satisfactorily accounted for as mere coincidence.

Ch. 3. — Hereward, exiled from England on account of his turbulent

¹ Though Heuser, *Anglia*, xxxi, p. 131, speaks of "der in der luft schwebende verfassers des altfranzösischen 'Urhorns.'" He wishes to substitute a Breton lay for a French romance as the source of the extant romances. In what language does he suppose it to have been accessible? As to the French original of KH, see Schofield, pp. 51 sq.

² The only fact which points definitely towards such a conclusion is the tournament in which "Young Hind Horn was abune them a" in the version of *Hind Horn*, if it is a version of *Hind Horn*, which Dr. Davidson so imperfectly remembered. But see Appendix, p. 61.

³ Schofield, p. 50, and note.

⁴ The text used is that printed by Hardy and Martin as an Appendix to their edition of *Gaimar*, Rolls Series, London, 1888, vol. i, pp. 339 sq. The *Gesta Herwardi* has also been printed by Michel, *Chroniques Anglo-Normannes*, Rouen, 1836, pp. 1 sq.; by Thomas Wright, in his edition of *Gaimar* for the Caxton Society, London, 1850, Appendix, pp. 46 seq.

very likely?

youth, goes down into Cornwall, where the king, Alef by name, maintains a Pictish giant. Hereward picks a quarrel with this giant, slays him, and is imprisoned by Alef. The daughter of the king, glad of the death of the giant, with whom she was to have been forced into marriage, helps Hereward to escape, and gives him letters to her lover, the son of the King of Ireland.

Ch. 4. — The Irish king, who knows Hereward by reputation, makes him leader of his forces in a war against the neighboring King of Munster. Hereward distinguishes himself in the fight, killing the hostile king in his tent. Then he destroys other enemies of his host and gets great glory, so that many young warriors come to him for instruction in arms.

In Chapter 5 specific resemblances to versions of the Horn story are numerous. Allowance must of course be made for the exigencies of adaptation: the scene of action is different; ¹ Hereward, being reserved for another lady, must be made a vicarious lover of the Princess of Cornwall. The resemblances will appear in the following comparative summary.²

1. Hereward in Ireland gets word that the Cornish princess is in danger of being forced into marriage with the son of a neighboring kinglet.

This has a general resemblance to HR and KH, in which the message is differently conveyed.

2. Hereward goes secretly to Cornwall. He disguises himself, "*per unguenta seipso transfigurato, mutataque flavente caesarie in nigridinem et barba juventutis in rubedinem*" (p. 349).

In KH, Horn "makede him a ful [i. e. foul] chere" (l. 1063).

In the ballad, Horn "borrows the beggar's wig of hair, to cover his because it is fair." (Version A 13; cf. I 6.)

3. At the wedding-feast, Hereward seats himself on the lowest bench, "*discubuit in extremis.*"

In HR, Horn sits among the poor.

In KH, "Horn sat upon the grunde" (l. 1115).

4. The princess looks closely at Hereward and suspects his identity; her "*nutrix*" confirms her suspicion.

In HR, Rimel has a nurse who, on a different occasion (ll. 853 sq.), reveals to her that a man who is attempting to pass as Horn is not he. Both nurses are familiar with the features of the hero.

5. The princess makes the rounds of the guests with drink; "*sponsa namque post prandium regalibus ornata induviis, sicut mos provinciae est, cum puellis potum convivis et conservis patris et matris in extrema die a paterna domo discedens ministratura processit*" (p. 350).

In KH, Rimenhild rose up after meat to pour wine and ale, "*So laze was in londe*" (l. 1110).

In HR, Rimel's father commands her to pour wine to the guests, as her ancestors had done; for

¹ Unless it be held that Cornwall was the original *situs* of the Horn saga; the evidence of the *Gesta* can scarcely be regarded as proving that this was the case.

² I have omitted from the summary several details, such as the forty messengers and Hereward's three companions, which occur only in the *Gesta*.

"*Customs ert à idunc en icale contrée*
Ke kant avanct lasl, ke dame ert-espussé,
S'ele pucele fust, k'ele ne fust a saée,
K'ele del beivre servist tut intant de finée
Cum le seneschal maingast od sa meinée." (ll. 4137 sq.)

Therefore Rimel puts on splendid clothes (cf. "*regalibus induviis*") and makes the rounds of the guests with her thirty maidens (cf. "*cum puellis*").

6. Hereward refuses to accept wine from the hand of the princess's attendant, having made a vow not to take anything except from the hand of the princess herself.

In the two romances, Horn is fastidious only about the vessel he drinks from: in HR he insists on the vessel in which Rimel has just served the bridegroom; in KH he refuses the brown bowl and demands the white.

The ballad seems to have preserved a feature of the original which in the romances is obscured:

"But he took na frae ane o them aw
 Till he got frae the bonnie bride hersel O." (G 24, H 24.)

7. The princess gives Hereward the cup, recognizes him by the sharpness of his eyes, and passes a ring to him in token of recognition.

The difference here is more notable than the resemblance.¹

8. Hereward takes the harp, and sings so wonderfully that the bride presents him with a cloak, and the bridegroom offers him whatever he may choose, except his wife and his land.

In the romances, Horn also is an excellent musician: in HR, before the king's daughter of Ireland, he sang so beautifully the lay of Batulf concerning his own love for Rimel, that his hearers wished to overload him with gifts (ll. 2826 sq.); in KH, when disguised as a harper for his second rescue of Rimenhild, he made a lay for her, and she "made walaway" and swooned (ll. 1476 sq.).

9. The bridegroom's professional harper recognizes Hereward and tells the bridegroom; the princess warns Hereward, who slips away from the feast.

In HR, Horn, suspecting that the traitor Wikel has recognized him, and fearing that he will be betrayed to the bridegroom, slips away from the feast (ll. 4309 sq.).

10. On the next day, when the bridegroom is conveying the bride to his own country, Hereward and his men fall upon them from ambush, kill the tyrant, and convey the princess to the son of the King of Ireland, who marries her.

In HR the rescue is effected at a courtly tournament, obviously French alteration.

In KH, Horn rescues the lady by breaking forcibly into the hall. In both romances, however, Horn keeps his men hidden until he has need of them; this is conceivably a survival of the original ambush.

The above comparison shows Chapter 5 of the "*Gesta Herwardi*" in striking agreement with HR as to points 4, 5, and 9; with both HR and KH as to points 3 and 5; with KH and the ballad as to point 2; and

¹ In Layamon the sister of the disguised Brian indicates in this way her recognition of him; ed. Madden, III, pp. 234 sq. There is no ring in the corresponding passages of Geoffrey (xii, 7) and Wace (ll. 14,693 sq.).

with the ballad alone as to point 6. Whether this fifth chapter is to be accepted as representing the common ancestor of HR, KH, and the ballad, depends upon the date of the "Gesta" and the credence to be attached to its author's ascription of source.

The preface, in which the material of the first part of the Gesta (which includes the adventures connected with the Princess of Cornwall) is referred to an Anglo-Saxon manuscript by Hereward's chaplain, gives the impression of being a veracious document.¹ The monkish Latinist, being solicited to provide his brothers in the monastery with an account of the exploits of the illustrious exile, Hereward, sought high and low for documentary material. He found nothing, however, "praeter pauca et dispersa folia, partim stillicidio putrefactis et abolitis et partim abscissione divisis." The title of the work which these loose leaves represented was "primitiva insignia praeclarissimi exulis Herwardi, editum Anglico stilo a Lefrico Diacono, ejusdem ad Brun presbyterum." He knew by report the character of this Leofric: "Hujus enim memorati presbyteri erat studium, omnes actus gigantum et bellatorum ex fabulis antiquorum, aut ex fideli relatione, ad edificationem audientium congregare, et ob memoriam Angliae literis commendare." His English was insufficient to enable him to deal with the decayed manuscript in a manner satisfying to himself; "ad illum locum tamen de illo usque collegimus ubi in patriam et ad pristinam domum reversus fratrem occisum invenit." He did not, however, publish a translation; it is implied, I think, that he suspected the authenticity of the adventures told by Leofric.² Finding no other written material, he abandoned his intention of writing a life of Hereward. But the friend to whom the preface is addressed urged him to publish at least what he had accomplished. Therefore he set to work again to translate Leofric's English into Latin as well as he was able. He also incorporated in his work traditions gathered from his fellow-monks and from some of Hereward's own former followers, "ex quibus saepe nonnullos vidimus, viros videlicet statura proceri et magni et nimiae fortitudinis, et ipsi [i. e. the person to whom the preface is addressed] etiam duos spectabiles formae viros ex illis, ut a vobis audivimus, vidistis, videlicet Siwate frater, Broter, de Sancto Edmundo, et Lefrico Niger, milites ejusdem, licet a suis membris propter invidiam dolo orbitati speciem artuum per inimicos amiserint. Siquidem de hiis et de aliis, quos ipsi [i. e. the writer himself] in multis probavimus et vidimus, si non aliter, satis nobis daretur intellegi quantae virtutis dominus illorum fuerit, et majora esse quae fecit quam ea quae de illo professi sunt."

I see no reason to doubt the truthfulness of this preface. It is hard to

¹ The full text of the preface here summarized is accessible in any of the editions cited above, p. 53, footnote 4.

² See the last sentence quoted in this paragraph.

imagine a motive for deception; the Latinist's circumstantial, straightforward, personal account of the composition of his work can scarcely fail to carry conviction. Moreover, the evidence as to the date and authorship of the "Gesta" makes it seem quite possible that the author and his friend may, as he says, have had personal relations with surviving members of Hereward's band. The statement sometimes made, that the "Gesta" is a product of the vogue of outlaw stories in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, is supported by no specific facts. The extant manuscript, to be sure, dates from that period;¹ the work, however, is certainly considerably earlier.² The author of the Latin is believed to have been one Richard, a monk of Ely,³ who died in the first half of the twelfth century.⁴ He thus lived at a time when there must certainly have been survivors of Hereward's band in the neighborhood of Ely, from which neighborhood the band was originally recruited; and in a monastery whither Leofric's manuscript might naturally have drifted from his parish of Bourne near by. That the manuscript should have got tattered and partially effaced in the short time between Leofric's death⁵ and Richard's writing, might well be due to the contempt of the new Norman monks for all things Saxon.

From the wording of the preface it is not quite clear whether, when the monk revised for publication his translation of Leofric's manuscript, he worked in with it material from oral sources, or whether he simply appended such material to his translation. But an examination of the "Gesta" as a whole shows plainly that the latter was the case. Up to "the place where Hereward returns to the home of his youth and finds his brother slain" (the point to which the monk says that he gathered the sense in his first study of Leofric's manuscript), the episodes are of the character to be expected from a man with Leofric's "studium" for collecting "omnes actus gigantum et bellatorum:" Hereward slays a fairy bear, rescues the Cornish princess, wins a witch mare in the Low Countries and an enchantress-wife in Flanders. The fictions in the succeeding part of the "Gesta" are of the sort likely to attach themselves to an historical soldier and outlaw; the actual occurrences underlying them are embroidered and embellished by the tongues of enthusiastic admirers.

¹ See Int. to Hardy and Martin's ed. of *Geimar*, etc., vol. i, p. xlvii.

² *Op. cit.* A marginal note in the MS. indicates that the work had belonged to Robert of Swapnam, who was dead when the MS. was transcribed.

³ The conclusion of the section of the *Liber Eliensis* dealing with the defence of Ely says that other episodes "in libro autem de ipsius gestis Herewardi dudum a venerabile viro et doctissimo fratre nostro beatae memoriae Ricardo edito plenius descripta inveniuntur," ed. D. J. Stuart, London, 1848, Bk. ii, ch. 107, p. 239. See, also, Hardy and Martin, vol. ii, p. xxxiv.

⁴ See Stuart, *Int. to Liber Eliensis*. Thomas, the author of the L. E., was alive in 1153; the L. E. alludes to Richard as dead.

⁵ Hereward's career was at its height in 1071; Leofric was his contemporary; both were probably dead by the end of the century.

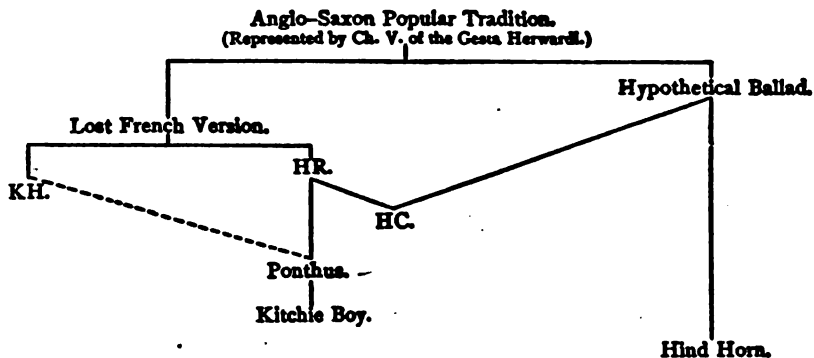
The fifth chapter of the "Gesta Herwardi," then, is adapted from a story current in the eleventh century. I see no reason to doubt that this story was already connected with the name of Horn, or that it was of English origin. Foreign sources, except possibly Scandinavian, would hardly have been accessible to Leofric. That he knew Latin is questionable; for he was not a monk, bred in an atmosphere of parchment, but a priest, a man of the people. That he knew French is possible, but not at all likely. As Hereward's chaplain he was associated with the most patriotic and stubborn of the Saxons, and probably took part in the last considerable opposition to the Norman Conquest. It was not to Frenchmen he would go for stories "ob memoriam Angliae literis commendare." And he belonged to Bourne, in Lincolnshire, a district remote from Celtic influence. "Fabulae antiquorum" for him were probably recorded in Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse; "fideles relationes" probably took place over the ale-horn.

The story told in the fifth chapter of the "Gesta" — the story of the man who, after an absence, returns in disguise to save his mistress from forced marriage with another man — is, as even Deutschbein admits,¹ of a type so universal that it might spring up at any time among any people. This *heimkehrender gatte* element is the essential thing in the Horn story. HR differs from KH in numerous minor details of action, character, and setting; HC differs radically from HR and KH in action and characters, and totally in setting; the ballad has in common with the other versions only the name "Horn" and the *heimkehrender gatte* features. These *heimkehrender gatte* features and the name "Horn" form the vital bond which makes all recognizable as versions of the same story. Why may not a *heimkehrender gatte* story have sprung up on the basis of actual occurrences in Saxon England, independently of any similar story springing from similar actual occurrences anywhere else in the world? If such a story had so sprung up, it would perhaps have been told in various places of various heroes. Eventually, however, in accordance with the well-known principle, it would have become indissolubly associated with the name of some popular hero, in this case, Horn. Each new teller would adapt the tale to local conditions, putting it in a scene familiar to his auditors, and introducing names of local celebrities. As time went on, other stories would have been taken into it, just as it, in its turn, was taken into the Hereward story; so it might have acquired the foundling story, the exile story, and the battles with Scandinavian heathen, preserved in HR and KH. I believe that the story developed in this way; I have met with no convincing evidence of the importation of either the *heimkehrender gatte* element or the name "Horn."

¹ Deutschbein holds that the "historische" element — Horn's exile in Ireland — was original, and that the "literarische" *heimkehrender gatte* element was added by the Normans, who got it from Germany.

But whatever may be held as to its ultimate origin, the fifth chapter of the "Gesta Herwardi" leaves little doubt that a version of the story was current in England in the eleventh century, and that from this version the hypothetical ballad ancestor of "Hind Horn" was derived. This version may or may not have been written down in Anglo-Saxon. It is possible and reasonable to conceive of the ballad as coming straight down through popular tradition from popular tradition of the time before the Conquest.

TABLE OF FILIATION



APPENDIX: THE KITCHIE BOY

In the part of his collection given over to fabrications and degenerates, Professor Child prints five versions of a ballad known as the "Kitchie Boy."¹ With other names and places, the "Kitchie Boy" gives what appears to be a debased version of the Horn story. Its resemblances to the other versions are noted in the following comparative summary.

1. A fair lady of birth and fame falls in love with her father's kitchen boy. In all the romances, the lady is the first to fall in love. The descent of Horn into a menial may be accounted for as an illiterate ballad-teller's interpretation of two features in HR and KH: first, Horn, though a king's son, is a foundling; and, second, Horn is officially the king's cup-bearer—in HR, especially, great stress is laid upon his serving wine at the high feast (ll. 755 sq.), and upon his duty of relieving the king of his sword and gloves when he comes in from hunting (ll. 1911 sq.).

2. The lady, as in all the romances, sends for Horn to her chamber, and herself makes the proposal.

3. The Kitchie Boy demurs, like Horn in HR, KH; the Kitchie Boy alleges fear of her father, Horn alleges the duty he owes him.

4. The lady equips for the Kitchie Boy a bonny ship, in which he may sail away beyond the wrath of her father and the master cook.

5. At parting she gives him a ring; it has no magic properties.

6. He sails away to Spain (London); cf. Horn's trip to Ireland in the romances.

7. A Spanish lady offers to feast him sumptuously; the king's daughter of Ireland feasts Horn sumptuously (HR, ll. 2688 sq.).

¹ No. 252, vol. iv, pp. 400 sq.

8. The Spanish lady offers him her love; so the king's daughter of Ireland to Horn in HR (ll. 2400 sq.). (In KH it is the lady's father who makes the offer.)

9. She offers him gifts; so the Irish princess in HR (ll. 2485 sq.).

10. The Kitchie Boy refuses both love and gifts on the ground that he is already engaged; so Horn in HR, KH.

11. Having sailed back home, the Kitchie Boy blacks his bonny face and close tucks up his yellow hair (C 31); his disguise is carried no further. In HR, Horn's only disguise is a change of clothes. But in KH, he made him a foul cheer, and smeared his neck with coal dust, and made himself uncomely, so that he did not look like himself (ll. 1063 sq.).

12. When the disguised Kitchie Boy has shown his love her ring (there is no dropping it into a wine cup), she asks,

"O gat ye that ring on the sea sailing?
Or gat ye it on the sand?
Or gat ye it on the shore laying,
On a drowned man's hand?" (A 34.)

This is obviously almost identical with the corresponding stanza in the ballad of "Hind Horn." I have already pointed out the particular resemblance of this part of the ballad to KH.¹

13. The Kitchie Boy replies,

"I gat na it on the sea sailing,
I gat na it on the sand,
But I gat it on the shore laying,
On a drowned man's hand." (A 35.)

Buchan's version adds,

"He was not dead as I passed by,
But no remeid could be;
He gave me this token to bear
Unto a fair ladie." (B 49.)

This is the reply which seems to have dropped out of "Hind Horn."¹ By it the resemblance to KH is made closer.

14. The Kitchie Boy washed his face and combed his hair, and took his true love in his arms and kissed her. She, fatuously enough, asked him how he could her so beguile. Her father blessed the match and called for a priest, little knowing that the happy lover was his own Kitchie Boy.

The "Kitchie Boy" shows no particular resemblance to HC. Points 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 10 are resemblances to both HR and KH. Points 7, 8, and 9 are particular resemblances to HR; point 11 is a particular resemblance to KH; points 12 and 13 resemble both KH and "Hind Horn," as to phraseology the latter in particular.

The likeness in phraseology of points 12 and 13 of the "Kitchie Boy" to "Hind Horn" would at first glance seem to indicate that the two ballads had once been connected. A note in Professor Child's *Additions and Corrections* would tend to support this hypothesis:

¹ See p. 51.

"Dr. Davidson informs me that many years ago he heard a version of 'Hind Horn' in four-line stanzas, in which, as in HR and HC, Horn took part in a joust at the king's court,

"An young Hind Horn was abune them a'."

He remembers further only these stanzas:

"O got ye this o the sea sailin,
Or got ye 't o the lan?
Or got ye 't o the bloody shores o Spain,
On a droont man's han?"

"I got na 't o the sea sailin,
I got na 't o the lan,
Nor yet upo the bloody shores o Spain,
On a droont man's han."¹

Clearly these are the "Kitchie Boy" stanzas, associated with the name "Horn." The obvious inference is that the two ballads were formerly one. But I do not believe that this was the case. For except as to the stanzas above quoted, the "Kitchie Boy" differs radically from "Hind Horn:" one gives an expanded form of the story, slurring the *dénouement*; the other devotes itself altogether to the *dénouement*. Moreover, the distinctive features of "Hind Horn," discoloration of the ring, beggar disguise, discomfiture of the bridegroom, are so striking that I cannot conceive of their disappearance from any ballad with which they had become connected. And it is possible to account for the presence in both of substantially the same stanzas without resorting to the theory that they were once connected. May not this be simply another case of the employment of a stock stanza, such as the ring stanza of "Hind Horn" seems originally to have been?² As to Dr. Davidson's version of "Hind Horn" in four-line stanzas with a tournament, I feel no certainty that it ever existed. If Dr. Davidson had ever read HR, it is quite possible that the tournament in which "Young Hind Horn was abune them a'" may have invented itself in his mind without his being aware of it, and attached itself to two stanzas which he remembered from the "Kitchie Boy" and confused with the similar stanzas in "Hind Horn."³

If the "Kitchie Boy" is independent of "Hind Horn," what is its origin? It may, of course, be derived from a very early form of the hypothetical ballad ancestor of "Hind Horn," which had not yet acquired the discoloration of the ring. But nothing stands in the way of a theory that this ballad descends from a romance. Its particular resemblance to "Hind Horn" being disposed of as a borrowing of stock stanzas, its particular resemblance to KH (point 11) is the only obstacle to a theory

¹ *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol. 1, p. 502.

² See pp. 48, 49.

³ Even if Dr. Davidson's version existed, its mention of a tournament would not necessarily indicate a connection with HR or HC; the tournament might have drifted in from some other ballad, in the same way as the features enumerated above on p. 50, note 3.

that it is derived from HR. Point 11, as well as all the points of resemblance to HR, is paralleled in the fifteenth century prose romance of "Ponthus and Sidoine,"¹ which is generally regarded as based upon HR. The "Kitchie Boy" is more likely to come from this romance than from the hypothetical ballad.

¹ See ed. by F. J. Mather, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.* xii, p. 99.

SOME BALLAD VARIANTS AND SONGS

BY ARTHUR BEATTY

OF the following ballads and songs, No. I is a variant of No. 84 in Child's "English and Scottish Popular Ballads," No. II is a variant of Child's No. 53, and No. III is a variant of Child's No. 4. Nos. IV and V are Kentucky popular songs. No. VIII is a fragment, while Nos. VI and VII are the work of a travelling minstrel.

Nos. I, II, IV-VIII were secured by Mr. Legare L. Oeland. I, II, IV, V, and VIII were taken down in Kentucky from oral recitation by Miss Cora Hylton of Cody, Knott County, Kentucky. Nos. VI and VII are from printed leaflets.

No. III was taken down from oral recitation, by Miss Ellen Hammond, at Westfield, Wisconsin.

I

BARBRA ALLEN

'T was all in the merry month of May,
And the green buds they were swellin',
Young Jimmy Grew on his death bed lay
For the love of Barbra Allen.

He sent his servants to the town
To the place where she was dwellin';
Say master's sick and sends for you
If your name be Barbra Allen.

So slowly she got up
And slowly she drew nigh him,
And all she said when she got there,
"Young man, I think you're dyin'."

"O yes, O yes, I'm very sick,
Death is upon me dwellin'.
No better, better shall I be
If I don't get Barbra Allen."

"Don't you remember the other day
When you were in town a drinkin',
You drank a health to the ladies all around,
And slighted Barbra Allen."

"O yes, I remember the other day
When I were in town a drinkin';
I drank a health to the ladies all,
But my love to Barbra Allen."

He turned his pale face to the wall,
She turned her back upon him,
"Adieu, adieu to my friends all around,
Adieu to Barbra Allen."

When she got about a mile o' home
She heard the death bells knelling,
And every time they seemed to say,
"Hard-hearted Barbra Allen."

She looked to the east, she looked to the west,
She saw the corpse a comin',
Says, "Lay (lay) down, lay down this young man
That I may look upon him!"

The longer she looked the worse she felt;
She fell to the ground a cryin',
Saying, "If I'd done my duty to-day
I'd a saved this man from dyin'."

"O mother, mother make my bed,
And make it long and narrow;
Young Jimmy died for me to-day,
I'll die for him to-morrow."

They buried her in the old church yard,
And buried him a-nigh her;
And out of her grave grew a red, red rose,
And out of his a brier.

They grew till they reached the high church tower,
They could not grow any higher,
And there they tied in a true love's knot,
The red rose and the brier.

II

THE TURKISH LADY, OR LORD BAITMAN

There was a man who lived in England
Who was of some high degree,
He became uneasy and discontented,
Some foreign land, some land to see.

He sailed east, and he sailed westward,
He sailed all o'er the Turkish shore,
Till he was captured and put in prison,
Never to be released any more.

The Turkey had but one lone daughter
Who was of some high degree;

She stole the keys from the father's dwelling
And declared Lord Baitman she would free.

She led him down to the lower cellar,
And drew him a drink of the strangest wine,
Saying "every moment seems like an hour,
Oh Lord Baitman, if you were mine."

"Let's make a vow, let's make a promise,
Let's make a vow, let's make it stand,
I vow I'll marry no other woman,
If you'll vow you'll marry no other man."

They made a vow, they made a promise,
They made a vow, they made it stand.
He vowed he'd marry no other woman,
She vowed she'd marry no other man.

Seven long years have rolled around,
It seemed as if it were twenty-nine.
She bundled up her finest clothing,
And declared Lord Baitman she'd go find.

She went till she came to the gate she tingled,
Was so loud but she would n't go in.
Saying "is this Lord Baitman's palace,
Is it he who has taken a new bride in?"

"Go remember him by the piexceal bread,
Go remember him by the glass of wine,
Go remember him by the Turkish lady,
Who freed him from those cold iron bands."

He stamped his foot upon the floor,
The table he burst into pieces three,
Saying "I'll forsake both land and dwelling
For the Turkish lady who set me free."

III

LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF-KNIGHT

The lord one night was standing by,
And unto his rich castle came
A-courting his daughter so pretty and fair,
But no one knew his name, name, name.

He followed her high and he followed her low,
And he followed her into her room,
She had no power to bid him go,
No power to bid him come, come, come.

"Go steal for me your father's gold,
Likewise your mother's fee,
And the best span of horses that is in your father's barn,
All there stand thirty and three, three, three."

She stole for him her father's gold,
Likewise her mother's fee,
And the best span of horses that was in her father's barn,
All there stand thirty and three, three, three.

She mounted upon her milk-white steed,
And he on the iron-gray;
They rode till they came to the brink of the sea.
O long, long before day, day, day.

"'Light off, 'light off, my pretty, fair maid,
'Light off, I say unto thee;
For six kings' daughters I have drowned here,
And you the seventh shall be, be, be."

She turned herself all round and round,
And viewed the leaves on tree.
"O think what a sin and a very great shame
For to drown a maid like me, me, me."

He turned himself all round and round,
And viewed the leaves on the tree,
She took him by his waist so small,
And plunged him into the sea, sea, sea.

"Lie there, lie there, you false-hearted knight,
Lie there, I say unto thee,
For if six kings' daughters you have drowned here,
Why you the seventh shall be, be, be."

She mounted upon her milk-white steed,
And led the iron-gray,
She rode till she came to her own father's door,
O long, long before day, day, day.

The first that she saw was her own father dear,
From his chamber-window so high,
Saying, "What is the matter with my pretty Polly,
That she's out so long before day, day, day?"

"The old cat came to my cage door,
And she frightened me so, as you see,
I was only a-calling on my pretty Polly,
For to call the old cat away, way, way."

IV

THE EAST KENTUCKY HILLS ¹

Oh the East Kentucky Hills,
How majestic and how grand,
With their summits bathed in glory
Like a Prince of (Manuel's?) land.
Is it any wonder then, that my heart with rapture thrills
As I stand once more with loved ones
On those East Kentucky Hills?

REFRAIN

Oh those hills, beautiful hills!
How I love those East Kentucky Hills!
If o'er sea or land I roam
Still I think of happy home
And my friends among those East Kentucky Hills.

Oh the East Kentucky Hills
Where my childhood days were passed,
Where I often wandered, lonely, and the future tried to cast.
Many were my visions bright,
Which the future ne'er fulfilled;
But how sunny were my day-dreams
On those East Kentucky Hills!

Oh those East Kentucky Hills,
How majestic and how grand,
With their summits pointing skyward
To that Great Almighty Land,
[Rest of stanza missing.]

Oh the East Kentucky Hills,
I must bid you now adieu
In my home beyond the mountains
I shall ever think of you
In the evening time of life
If my Heavenly Father wills
I shall still behold a vision
Of those East Kentucky Hills.

V

THE RETURNING SOLDIER

A neat young lady at work in the garden,
A gay young soldier came riding by.
He stepped up to this neat young lady
And says, "Kind Miss, won't you marry me?"

¹ This I did not learn from mother or father, and I don't doubt that it has been published. — C. H.

"You're not a man of fancy honor,
 You're not the man I was taking you to be,
 Imposing on a neat young lady,
 Saying, 'Kind Miss, won't you marry me?'"

"I have a true love in the army,
 He's been gone for seven long years;
 And if he's gone for seven years longer,
 No man on earth can marry me."

"Perhaps he's dead, perhaps he's drowned,
 Perhaps he's on some battlefield slain,
 Perhaps he's stolen some fair girl and married her,
 Perhaps you'll never see him again."

"If he's dead I hope he's happy,
 Or if he's on some battlefield slain,
 Or if he has stolen some fair girl and married her,
 I love that girl for loving him."

He drew his hands all out of his pockets,
 And his fingers both neat and small;
 And the rings that shone upon them,
 Beneath her feet he let them fall.

She picked them up on her little fingers;
 The kisses she gave them was one, two, three,
 Saying, "Is this my little single soldier,
 Returning home to marry me?"

VI

THE MURDER OF MRS. BROUGHTON

Written and composed by C. O. Oaks, Blind Musician, Richmond, Ky.

In Knox county, an awful crime
 Occurred near Barboursville
 By two negroes on Fighting Creek,
 When all was dark and still.
 On Saturday Broughton came home,
 Gave money to his wife,
 Forty dollars he had worked out in the mines;
 That cash cost her her life.

A negress named Annie Henson
 With Mrs. Broughton stayed,
 Gave the alarm soon in the night,
 A false statement she made.
 She said that men unknown to her
 The house had broken in
 Had killed and robbed Mrs. Broughton,
 She lied to hide her sin.

Neighbors found nothing but the blood,
The body they did seek,
They searched in vain till morning dawn,
And found her near the creek.
Some cruel hands had murdered her,
And in the darkness fled,
Her throat was cut from ear to ear,
Almost severing her head.

Bloodhounds were quickly dispatched for,
And soon were on the trail,
Jess Fitzgerald was caught in the mines,
And placed in Barboursville jail.
The negress was arrested, too,
A confession she made,
How she and Fitzgerald had planned the plot,
And parts that each had played.

She said that Fitzgerald was there and left,
Came back in a short time,
She held the victim on the bed,
While he committed the crime.
He took the cash and ran away,
To Artemus fled,
Next day the men came into town;
"We'll lynch them both," they said.

They were taken to Stanford jail,
And kept there for a while,
But were brought back to Barboursville,
And both were placed on trial.
The troops were there with gattling gun,
Guarding court house and jail,
The jury sentenced Fitzgerald to hang;
Now let justice prevail.

He said he forced Annie to help,
He soon his God must meet;
She got fifteen years in the pen,
They could not justice cheat.
Poor woman will sleep on in the tomb,
Until life's toils are done,
Then her murderers will be avenged
By the Immortal One.

VII

**THE SOUTHERN RAILROAD WRECK, WHICH OCCURRED NEAR NEW MARKET,
TENN., SEPT., 1904**

Written and composed by Charles O. Oaks.

One Autumn morn in Tennessee
 An awful wreck was heard,
 East of Knoxville, and near New Market,
 Was where the crash occurred;
 The East and West bound passenger trains
 Were running at high speed,
 They struck each other on a curve,
 'T was a horrible sight indeed.
 The engine crew on the West bound train
 Their orders had misread;
 About one hundred and fifty were hurt,
 And near seventy are dead.
 The passengers were riding along,
 And chatting the time away,
 Reading and smoking, and laughing and talking,
 And all seemed bright and gay.

CHORUS

The people were excited,
 They wept aloud and said:
 My God, there's a wreck on the railroad
 And many we fear are dead.
 Oh how much of sadness,
 Oh how many pains.
 Many sad hearts are aching
 For friends on the ill fated trains.

But in a moment the scene was changed
 To one of sad despair;
 For shrieks of dying men and women
 And children filled the air.
 The track was strewn with dead and dying,
 'T was an awful sight that day.
 The engine crews were buried alive,
 Without even time to pray.
 A little girl with her head mashed,
 Called "Mamma" each dying breath,
 Her parents lay not far away,
 But they are still in death.
 One lady, a sharp piece of wood
 Her body had pierced through,
 Her little babe lay in her arms,
 But death soon claimed it too. — CHORUS.

One dying woman prayed to live,
 Just for her children dear;

A headless woman's body lay there,
Her head was lying near.
Nurses and doctors soon arrived
From Knoxville on a train;
And they all labored very hard
To save life and ease pain.
People in Knoxville rushed to the depot,
More news to ascertain;
For many had relatives and friends
Aboard each fatal train.
Little could they learn till four o'clock,
A train pulled in that day
With seventy who were badly hurt,
Six dying on the way. — CHORUS.

Excitement was not over then,
For people were filled with dread;
Till eight o'clock, a train pulled in,
Bearing forty-two dead.
And many who kissed their friends farewell
Before they went away,
Soon were brought back to them in death
With lips as cold as clay.
The next day was the Sabbath day,
And many were laid to rest,
We trust they were on the Lord's side,
And now are with the blest.
And when we board a railroad train,
It's little do we know;
That we may meet the same sad fate,
And into eternity go. — CHORUS.

VIII

I went up on the mountain
And I gave my horn a blow;
And I thought I heard my true love say,
Yonder comes my beau.

A verse of a song which a young Berea student used to hear often at his home in Owsley County.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WIS.

FOLK-MUSIC IN AMERICA

BY PHILLIPS BARRY

THE existence of American folk-song is no longer a matter of speculation and doubt. The great numbers of singing people, living or dead, who have made homes in our land, have brought with them to our shores the songs their fathers sang, giving the impetus at the same time to the growth of a native species of folk-song, whereby folk-poetry and folk-music has come to be an American institution. And the voice of the folk-singer may yet be heard, as well in the heart of the great city as on the lonely hillside.¹ That much of this treasure of traditional song may not pass away, some effort has already been made, — for it is, alas! too true that its days are numbered. It is to be hoped that this effort may lead to the founding of an American Folk-Song Society. The collections made by Professor Belden and others in the West, as well as the results of my own researches in the North Atlantic States, testify eloquently to the wealth of material nigh at hand. If for no other reason, the great mass of American folk-song is worthy of preservation, as a means of making a record of a phase of American home-life which constitutes an unwritten and neglected chapter in the history of the manners and customs of our people.

Yet there is another reason. The melodies to which folk-songs are sung in America are of infinite variety, and in many instances rarely beautiful. To this source the composer of the future, who shall found a school of American music, will turn for his inspiration.

In the present article, which will serve as an introduction to a more detailed treatment of the subject, to be made by me in the near future, I shall discuss briefly the forms and species of melody, — modes, structure, etc., — and make some mention of the persistence of certain definite national types.

I. THE MODES

Folk-music has a wider range in modal structure than the composer of to-day, self-restricted, avails himself of. The greater number of airs, it is true, are cast in the familiar "major scale," — the Ionian mode of the mediæval writers, called also by them "*tonus lascivus*," in recognition of the fact that already at that time it was the usual mode of secular melodies, in contradistinction to certain other modes regarded as more fitting for sacred music. In my collection, more than seventy-five per

¹ The Irish people in our large cities are keeping alive a great quantity of folk-song. W. C., Boston, Mass., tells of hearing a city laborer of Irish extraction sing from 8 P. M. to 5 A. M., without singing a song twice, a worthy rival to the "old singing-men" of Baring-Gould and others.

cent are in this mode, an indication of a fact, which, on examination, will be found to hold true of other large collections of folk-melodies. Many traditional tunes, however, being those especially which are said to sound uncouth to unaccustomed ears, are cast in the so-called ecclesiastical modes, the characteristic feature of which is the minor seventh. Four such modes¹ are still in use: to wit, —

1. Mode of A, or Æolian.



2. Mode of D, or Dorian.



3. Mode of E, or Phrygian.



4. Mode of G, or Mixolydian.



Specimen melodies, chosen from among those in my collection, will serve to illustrate the peculiar features of these four modes. I have but one tune in the Phrygian. The rarity of this mode in British folk-music, and consequently in American, is a fact often mentioned by those who have written upon the subject.²

I. Æolian Mode

KING JOHN AND THE BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.³



¹ These modes may be represented on the piano by taking the white keys only, in the octaves, A—A, D—D, E—E, G—G, respectively.

² R. V. Williams (*Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, II, p. 111) writes, "The Phrygian mode is exceedingly rare in British folk-song."

³ *King John and the Bishop*, A. From M. E. E., through S. A. F., Providence, R. I.

NANCY MY LOVER.¹**COME ALL YOU RUDE YOUNG MEN.²****2. Dorian Mode****BARBARA ALLAN.³****WILLIAM TAYLOR.⁴****THERE WAS A FROG.⁵**¹ From MS. of 1790.² From MS. of 1790.³ *Bonny Barbara Allan*, E. From M. E. H., St. Mary's, Pa.⁴ *William Taylor*, E. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.⁵ *The Frog and the Mouse*, B. From S. L. G., Canton, Mass.

TERENCE, MY SON.¹3. *Phrygian Mode*PRETTY POLLY.²4. *Mixolydian Mode*MARY NEILL.³GIVE ME A KISS OF THE PRETTY BRIDE.⁴¹ Lord Randall, J. From M. R. M., Newtonville, Mass.² Polly Oliver, C. From S. C., Boston, Mass.³ Mary Neill, A. From S. C., Boston, Mass.⁴ Katharine Jaffray, B. From S. C., Boston, Mass.

Some so-called *modal airs* lack the distinguishing features of one or another of the modes described above. Such an air is the following, — it might be regarded as Dorian, since it has the minor seventh and the major sixth, — though the prominence given to the seventh is good reason for treating it as Mixolydian, in spite of the absence of the distinguishing major third.

GREEN GROWS THE LAUREL.¹



Change of mode occurs very rarely. What is understood by *modulation*, that is, change of key only; also the introduction of the major seventh into a minor melody, are special developments of artistic music. The accompanying melody illustrates change of mode.

THE KING'S DAUGHTER.²



In this instance the change is a violent one, from Æolian (or Dorian) to Ionian in the second part of the melody.

II. STRUCTURE

Under this head I shall refer briefly to some of the structural peculiarities of folk-music in America, which will serve to point out a difference between a traditional tune, the product of individual invention plus communal re-creation, and a "composed" tune. The difference is in many ways analogous to the difference, as regards diction, literary style, etc., between, say, "Sir Patrick Spens" and "The Wreck of the Hesperus," or any of the stirring but unconvincing imitations of the ancient ballad by Sir Walter Scott. Music, as well as words, emphasizes as a fact the inimitability of folk-song.

¹ *Green grows the Laurel*, B. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.

² *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight*, G. From J. C., Vineland, N. J.

1. Circular Melodies

To a folk-singer, words and music together make the ballad he sings.¹ The one is not felt to exist without the other. An interesting survival of what is evidently a very early form of ballad-singing is the so-called *circular tune*, the feature of which is the absence of the tonic close, as in the accompanying example, —

RAMBLE, MY SON.²

Individual stanzas of a ballad being felt as part of a whole, likewise the air, as sung to any single stanza, was not the melody of the ballad, but part of it. The closing note would not be final, but would have reference to the continuation of the ballad, until, when the final stanza was reached, the melody would take the form in the final cadence, that would indicate the song or ballad was finished. That these melodies have come down to us in an incomplete form is readily accountable, because of the fact that, in singing a ballad, whereas the incomplete close would occur many times, the final cadence would occur only once. The usual is more readily remembered than the unusual.³

2. Partial Melodies

I can but give a very brief summary of this interesting feature of folk-music, in some of its manifestations one of the most striking. Partial melodies, or musical phrases, set each to a verse, or, rather, a musical sentence of a ballad, constitute the elements out of which a folk-tune is constructed. It will readily be observed by any one who listens to a folk-singer, that in many instances partial melodies, identical in form or nearly so, are repeated in different parts of the tune, according to a fixed law. The following formulas will serve to identify the more common types of melodic structure.⁴

¹ There are no *recited ballads*. People who do not sing seldom know folk-songs, and then only as recollections, often fragmentary, of songs they have heard sung.

² *Lord Randall*, T. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.

³ Some circular melodies are dance-tunes, — a fact pointing to the intimate connection of ballad and dance.

⁴ C. J. Sharp (*English Folk-Song*, p. 72) treats the subject more fully from the viewpoint of British folk-music.

1. Two elements, a, b.

First type: a, b, a, b.

THE MERMAID.¹

Second type: a, b, v, a.

THE IRISH GIRL.²

Third type: a, a', a'', b.

LORD BATEMAN.³

2. Three elements, a, b, c

First type: a, a', b, c.

THE BUTCHER BOY.⁴¹ *The Mermaid*, A. From J. G. M., Newbury, Vt.² *The Irish Girl*, B. From MS. of 1790.³ *Young Beichan*, C. From N. A. C., Rome, Pa.⁴ *The Butcher Boy*, A. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.

Second type: a, b, v, c.

COME ALL YOU MAIDENS FAIR.¹



Third type: a, b, a, c.

FAIR FLORELLA.²



3. Four or more elements, a, b, c, d, etc.

First type: a, b, c, d.

THE JOLLY BEGGAR.³



Second type: a, b, a, c, d, e.

THE MAKING OF THE HAY.⁴



¹ *The Sprig of Thyme*, B. From MS. of 1790s.

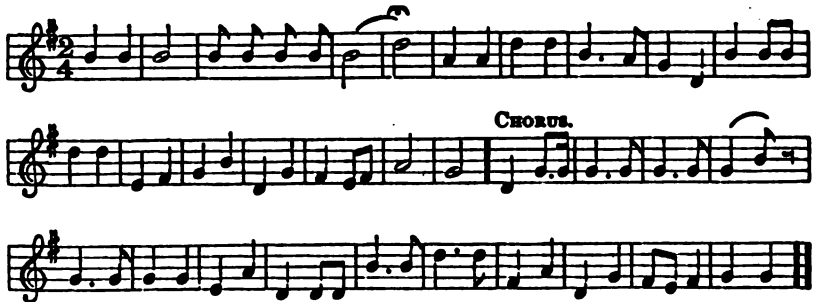
² *Fair Florella*, C. From A. W. L., Thornton, N. H.

³ *The Jolly Beggar*, A. From S. C., Boston, Mass.

⁴ *The Making of the Hay*, A. From S. C., Boston, Mass.

Third type: *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, a'.*

THE GYPSY DAVY.¹



3. National Types

Folk-melodies of Irish origin exhibit one or two peculiarities of their own that are worthy of passing notice. For example, the arrangement of partial melodies according to the formulas, *a, b, b', a*, and *a, b, b', c*, is very common. Another feature, even more marked, appears in the closing cadence, — the repetition of the final note of the air. The accompanying melody illustrates well both of these characteristics.²

ADIEU, MY LOVELY NANCY.³



Another melody, showing also the structural peculiarity of the pentatonic scale, as well as the repetition of the final note, is worthy of inclusion here, by reason of its great beauty.

¹ *The Gypsy Laddie*, P. From L. N. C., Boston, Mass.

² Cf. also *Mary Neill* and *Give me a Kiss of the Pretty Bride*, s. v., Mixolydian mode.

³ From S. C., Boston, Mass.

THE GREEN MOSSY BANKS OF THE LEA.¹



¹ Though a modal rather than a structural peculiarity of melody, it may be remarked that Irish singers have a liking for airs cast in the Mixolydian mode.

33 BALL STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

¹ From S. C., Boston, Mass.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

THE Society met at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, in affiliation with the American Anthropological Association and Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, from December 28, 1908, to January 1, 1909.

The Council of the Society met on December 29 at the Maryland Institute. The Society held its annual business meeting on the same day and at the same place.

President Dixon presided, and Dr. George A. Dorsey was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The Treasurer presented his report for the period from December 24, 1907, to December 24, 1908.

RECEIPTS

Balance from last statement	\$1,518.73
Receipts from annual dues	831.20
Subscriptions to Publication Fund	231.00
Sales through Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (net of mailing and other expenses):	
Memoirs	47.13
Journal of American Folk-Lore, June 1, 1907, to December 1, 1908, less 10 % commission, and charges for expressage, mailing, printing, etc.	638.32
Sales of reprints to authors	34.65
Sales of back numbers of Journal through the Secretary	12.50
California Branch, A. L. Kroeber, Acting Treasurer, balance left over from their fiscal year, 1906-1907.	25.75
Interest account on balance, Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass.	34.11
	\$3,373.39

DISBURSEMENTS

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for manufacture of Journal of American Folk-Lore, Nos. 79, 80, 81, 82	\$1,350.49
Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for printing circular letter to members .	26.22
" " " " " reprints for authors	154.37
" " " " " notice of annual meeting, and sending same to members	7.03
H. M. Hight, Boston, Mass., printing bill forms, envelopes, etc. . .	7.25
Treasurer's postage	8.50
Secretary's "	10.80
Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer, Permanent Secretary, for typewriting, for rubber stamp, clerk-hire, and express	7.37
Allen Bros., Boston, Mass., rubber stamp for treasurer	1.50
Amount carried forward	\$1,573.53

Annual Meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society 83

<i>Amount brought forward</i>	\$1,573.53
American Anthropological Association, one third cost of the Joint Committee meeting at Chicago, Ill.; and one half the cost of printing programmes, postal cards, reply cards, typewriting, etc.	39.06
Helen Leah Reed, Secretary of the Boston Branch, Cambridge, Mass., stamped envelopes	2.16
Edward W. Wheeler, Cambridge, Mass., printing cards for the Publication Fund	7.00
E. M. Backus, for collecting material in the South for the Journal of American Folk-Lore	10.00
Rebate to the Cambridge Branch, M. L. Fernald, Treasurer	17.50
“ “ “ Boston “ A. R. Tisdale, “	36.50
“ “ “ Missouri “ Mrs. L. D. Ames, “	10.00
“ “ “ California “ A. L. Kroeber, Acting Treas.	12.00
“ “ “ Iowa “ E. K. Putnam, Treasurer	5.00
Appropriation by the Council to California Branch	50.00
Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass., collecting checks	2.80
	<hr/>
	\$1,772.66
Balance to new account	1,600.73
	<hr/>
	\$3,373.39

ELIOT W. REMICK, *Treasurer*.

This report was duly accepted, and the President nominated a committee, consisting of Messrs. A. M. Tozzer, H. J. Spinden, and R. G. Fuller, to audit the same.

Upon nomination by the Council, officers were elected; and the following list shows the constitution of the Council, including officers holding over from previous elections:—

PRESIDENT, Dr. John R. Swanton, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, Professor F. N. Robinson, Harvard University, Cambridge.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT, Professor Alcée Fortier, Tulane University, New Orleans.

EDITOR OF JOURNAL, Professor Franz Boas, Columbia University, New York.

PERMANENT SECRETARY, Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer, Harvard University, Cambridge.

TREASURER, Mr. Eliot W. Remick, Boston.

COUNCILLORS. (For three years): Professor H. M. Belden, University of Missouri; Professor E. K. Putnam, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. George A. Dorsey, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. (For two years): Dr. R. H. Lowie, American Museum of Natural History, New York; Professor P. E. Goddard,¹ University of California; Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, Mexico City.¹ (For one year): Dr. F. A. Golder,¹ University of Missouri; Dr. H. M. Hurd,¹ Baltimore.

¹ Councillors holding over.

The following are also members of the Council, either as past Presidents of the Society within five years or as Presidents of local Branches: Professor G. L. Kittredge, Miss Alice Fletcher, Professor A. L. Kroeber, Professor R. B. Dixon, Professor F. W. Putnam, Professor R. B. Perry, Mr. Charles Keeler, Miss Mary A. Owen, Professor Charles B. Wilson, Professor A. C. L. Brown.

On December 30 Professor R. B. Dixon gave his Presidential address on "The Mythology of the Central and Eastern Algonkins."

The following papers were presented at the meeting of the Folk-Lore Society:—

LOUISE RAND BASCOM, "Ballads and Songs of Western North Carolina."

DR. C. HART MERRIAM, "Battle of the First People with Dakko, the Sun God, — a Hamfo Myth."

DR. CLARK WISSLER, "Observations on Esoteric Narratives as the Source of Myths."

MISS MARY W. F. SPEERS, "The Importance of Recording Negro-Lore, Dialects, and Melodies."

GEORGE WILL, "Songs of the Western Cowboys."

DR. R. H. LOWIE, "Additional Catch-Words for Mythological Motives."

F. B. WASHINGTON, "Notes on the Northern Wintun Indians."

LEO FRACHTENBERG, "Traditions of the Coos Indians of Oregon, collected by H. H. St. Clair, 2d."

DR. C. HART MERRIAM, "Transmigration in California."

DR. JOHN PEETE CROSS, "Folk-Lore from the Southern States."

PHILLIPS BARRY, "Folk-Music in America."

The following abstract of a portion of the report of the Permanent Secretary to the Council in regard to the activities of the Society and its condition was read and ordered printed:—

GENERAL FINANCIAL CONDITION

The general financial condition of the Society is only fairly satisfactory. The balance in December, 1908, shows an increase of about one hundred dollars over that of December, 1907. This does not by any means represent the relative strength of the finances in these two years. In 1907, there was an item of \$900.83 as part of the cost of printing the Ninth Memoir. No expenses were incurred this year for Memoirs. The statement of Houghton, Mifflin & Company for receipts in 1908 for sale of Journal contains several unusual items, such as receipts from foreign agents, which do not come regularly.

The cost of publishing the Journal has increased \$217.40 from last year. I have made an exhaustive study of the cause of this increase by comparing the detailed bills, and I find that the greater part of it

is due to an increase in the price of typesetting. This, together with a slight increase in the cost of corrections, makes up the difference.

A new item appears also for the first time in 1908, the cost of reprints given to authors. A small portion of this amount is met by authors who order more than the usual fifty copies and by those who order covers. The net cost to the Society for reprints amounted to \$119.72. In former years extra copies of the Journal were printed at slight expense, and these were divided up and served as reprints.

There has been a net loss on the Journal of \$43.44 during the year. This would have amounted to much more if we had not received an unusually large amount from the publishers for the sale of the Journal. This amount does not represent the sum we may expect from this source each year.

From a study of the summary of the Treasurer's report, which is printed on p. 82, it will be seen that we cannot increase the cost of publication without a considerable increase in income. The Journal is not self-supporting.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S STATEMENT, AND COMPARISON WITH
THE YEAR 1907

Journal Account				
Receipts	1907		1908	
Dues from all sources				
less rebates	801.65		775.95	
Sales of Journal	338.36	1139.01	650.82	1426.77
Expenses				
Manufacture of Journal	1133.09		1350.49	
Net cost of reprints	0.00	1133.09	119.72	1470.21
	Gain	5.92	Loss	43.44
Publication Fund				
Receipts				
Subscriptions	143.00		231.00	
Sale of Memoirs	172.42	315.42	47.13	278.13
Expenses				
"Los Pastores" (partial)	690.83	690.83	0.00	0.00
	Loss	375.41	Gain	278.13
	1906	1907	1908	
Balance in treasury, Dec. 25,	1,931.01	1,518.73	1,600.73	

MEMBERSHIP

I regret to report that the membership has fallen off during the year. Last year we had 379 members, this year there are 358 members, enrolled on the books, a loss of 21. This loss is mainly due to the failure of the Arizona Branch to keep alive. There were 34 members in the Branch. Four remained as members of the general Society.

This loss of thirty members from Arizona was more than made up by a gain in other directions, so that the net loss is 21 for the year.

A number of names of members who have never paid dues to the Society have been dropped from the lists, and it will take another year before we can remove from the list all those who are more than two years in arrears. Several local secretaries are not willing to drop these names, even after repeated warnings from the Treasurer of the Society.

The question of membership should be considered by the Council. At the present time, with the exception of the local secretaries, there is no one whose duty it is to have the question of membership in mind. Large areas are not covered by the local Branches, and it is in these places that work ought to be done to increase the membership. Washington, New York, and Chicago ought to be fruitful fields for missionary work. There are many names of anthropologists, in addition to names of those interested in folk-lore from other sides, which are not on the list of members.

I therefore respectfully request the Council to consider the appointment of a membership committee, appointed or elected according to their place of residence. In this way different parts of the country will be covered, and a little work on the part of each member of the committee would result in an increase in membership, which is needed in order that the Journal may become self-supporting.

CONDITION OF LOCAL BRANCHES

Boston Branch. — There are 94 members enrolled, a gain of 4 over the year 1907.

Cambridge Branch. — There is a limit of 40 to membership. This number is usually maintained.

California Branch. — The financial conditions of the Branch are in a much more promising condition than at this time last year. The proceedings of the Branch have contributed much interesting material to the contents of the Journal. The Society has, during the past year, made an appropriation of \$50.00 toward the expenses of the Branch in the hope of enabling it to organize its work.

Missouri Branch. — The membership has remained the same as last year.

The annual meeting of the Branch was held on February 8, at Washington University, St. Louis. There was a morning and afternoon session, and several papers were read. Many of the contributions will appear in the Journal.

Iowa Branch. — The membership has remained the same as last year.

The Branch held a most successful joint meeting at the University of Iowa on November 5th and 6th, in connection with the Iowa Society

of the Archaeological Institute of America and the Iowa Anthropological Society. There were four joint sessions, and a large number of interesting papers were presented. Several of these will appear in the Journal.

Illinois Branch.—The Illinois Branch has been organized mainly through the efforts of Professor H. A. V. Jones. Professor A. C. L. Brown of Northwestern University is president of the Branch, Professor H. A. V. Jones of the University of Illinois is secretary.

Arizona Branch.—It has not been possible to keep this Branch alive. The Secretary, Dr. Golder, left Arizona, and no one has been found to take his place.

A Canadian Folk-Lore Society has lately been established, and there is every reason to hope that within a short time it will be affiliated with the American Folk-Lore Society.

JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

I am glad to report an increase in the number of libraries and colleges subscribing to the Journal. Last year this list numbered 109. For 1908 the number is 116. A circular letter was sent out to all the libraries on the mailing list of Houghton Mifflin Company's catalogues. This resulted in several additions to the list, and in one or two cases files of the Journal were bought. I propose at the beginning of 1909 to repeat this, and to send in addition a list of the libraries already subscribing for the Journal. This includes all the large libraries and the colleges of the United States. Each new name on this list means a permanent addition to the income of the Society. There is not the same fluctuation as in the case of members.

Report of the Editor.—During the past year the editor has endeavored to obtain for the Journal a number of papers of greater weight. This has made it necessary to print in each number of the Journal at least one long paper. Since the number of pages for each number is only about eighty, it is rather difficult to place papers of such length in a single number, and it seemed advantageous to issue a double number in midsummer in order to gain room for papers of this type. Unfortunately it is not possible to pursue this policy constantly, because the interval between issues of the single numbers would be too long, and also because the regulations of the Post-Office forbid the combination of two numbers into one. The supply of material for the Journal has increased so much that it seems impossible to print all the good papers that are offered now in the space of 320 to 360 pages, which are the limits of the Journal. It seems therefore highly desirable to increase the Journal to at least 400 pages annually. This, however, would increase the financial burdens of the Society by twenty per cent., and it does not seem feasible to make this increase in the size of the Journal unless additional means are forthcoming.

Thanks to the efforts made by Professor G. L. Kittredge and others, a considerable amount of material relating to European folk-lore has been offered for publication in the *Journal*, and it is the hope of the Editor that this department of the *Journal* may be considerably strengthened in coming years.

Unfortunately, the Department of Negro Folk-Lore is still weak, and it will require considerable effort to develop it adequately and to stimulate much-needed activity in this direction.

Another department of the *Journal* that requires further development is that of book reviews. The number of books reviewed is entirely out of proportion in comparison to the material published annually, and reviews do not appear sufficiently promptly. For the development of this department of the *Journal* the coöperation of students is urgently needed.

The thanks of the Society are due to the considerable number of subscribers who have contributed to the expense of preparing and printing the index.

PUBLICATION FUND AND TENTH MEMOIR

By vote of the Council in 1907, the Publication Fund is to be kept separate from that of the other accounts of the Society. The Treasurer's statement will not show this separation of accounts. This was not deemed necessary for the present year, as there has been nothing expended on this account.

By vote of the Council in 1907, the Tenth Memoir is to be an Index of the twenty volumes of the *Journal*, and the Collection of Maryland Folk-Lore which was to constitute the Tenth Memoir was placed on the list of prospective publications. The preparation of the index has been taken up. The Editor reports progress, and hopes to be able to send the manuscript to the printer about the end of February of the coming year.

As I said last year in my report, I think that Memoirs should come out at more frequent intervals than in previous years. Subscriptions to the Fund come in more readily when there is something definite to promise by way of publication. \$231.00 have been subscribed this year for the index.

I suggest to the Council the possibility of dedicating the Tenth Memoir, the Index to the twenty volumes of the *Journal*, to the memory of Mr. Newell. The twenty volumes are largely the result of his individual efforts, and an index to these writings would serve very appropriately as a Memorial to him.

I cannot close my report without thanking the President of the Society and the Editor of the *Journal* for their kind coöperation in the work of the year. The publishers of the *Journal* have also been ready to

furnish me with any details in regard to the financial side of the affairs of the Society.

I can but feel that the Society has started on a new era of prosperity, and that the memory of the founder will be perpetuated in an organization and a publication worthy of him and his associates.

ALFRED M. TOZZER,
Permanent Secretary.

The following recommendations of the Secretary were adopted by the Council:—

The Tenth Memoir, "An Index to the Twenty Volumes of the Journal of American Folk-Lore," is to be printed as a Memorial Volume to the late William Wells Newell, the Founder of the Society.

It was resolved to appoint a Committee on Membership. The President appointed the following Committee: the President *ex officio*, the Editor *ex officio*, the Secretary *ex officio*, Professor Fortier, Mrs. J. G. Bourke, Miss Du Bois, Dr. Gardner, Mrs. McNeil, Mr. S. Hagar, Professor Prudden, Dr. Dorsey, Dr. Gordon, and Miss Wardle.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ARIKARA CREATION MYTH. — In vol. vi of this Journal (1893), pp. 123 *et seq.*, Mr. George Bird Grinnell has published an account of the Arikara Creation myth, as recorded by Rev. C. L. Hall. In the original notes of the collector, written at Fort Berthold, in March, 1881, which are preserved in the Bureau of American Ethnology, a few data are contained which are worth preserving, since the present form of the myth contains a number of traits that are not found in the various records published by later collectors (see George A. Dorsey, "Traditions of the Arikara" [Washington, Carnegie Institution], pp. 11 *et seq.*). The variants, together with some critical and explanatory remarks kindly furnished by Mr. Grinnell, are given in the following lines.

When introducing his account, Rev. Hall says, "The following account of the creation and early history of mankind was obtained from an Arikara Indian who said he had paid a quantity of buffalo taken in hunting for the privilege of hearing it from the lips of a 'medicine-man.' The story was afterward told to him a second time, that he might remember it correctly, and he again paid for the relation. The story as told by the Indian was written down as he told it. Lately we desired to hear it again, that any mistakes might be corrected, but the narrator refused on the ground that the 'medicine-men' were displeased with him for having told the story to white people."

In the account itself the term "God" is used throughout for *Atius*. It is not stated that God made the earth, but created "a people of stone and iron." — The following is not contained in the manuscript of Rev. Hall: "Many of the people being big and heavy, and so able to move only slowly, could not reach the tops of the hills to which all tried to escape for safety, and even those who did so were drowned by the rising waters, which at last covered the whole land." — In the account of the duck and the mosquito a remark is added in Rev. Hall's version, in reference to the presence of these two animals after the deluge: "It is always thus with ducks and mosquitoes, you cannot tell where they go to, but they always come." — The obstacles met during the migrations of the tribes are recorded by Rev. Hall in the following order: First a river, which the people cross, following a fish with sharp fins on its back, that is taken out of the sacred bundle. "Some poor women and children who lagged behind, did not get across in time and were drowned in the waters and afterward transformed into fishes. Thus we see that fishes are relations of mankind." The second obstacle is a dense forest, through which the mole burrows. The laggards are transformed into moles, muskrats, beavers, and animals of like nature, that live under ground. The third obstacle is a ravine, where the laggards are transformed into birds. Mr. Grinnell has remarked in his earlier publication that the order in which the obstacles to the progress of the original company are encountered varies in the different versions given to him by various old men. A version which was told to him by Pahukatawá, who is said to have been born in 1821, declares that various tribes of the original company — among which he mentioned Arikara, Pawnee, Sioux, and Mandan — all moved together slowly from the big mountains in the south, and camped on a high hill called the Rough Butte. Another narrator spoke of this hill as the "Hard Butte

in the Black Hills." Pahukatawá, when telling the myth to Mr. Grinnell, said that all the Arikara passed safely over the deep ravine, which could be crossed only by aid of the bird called "striking bone;" thus implying that the laggards caught there and changed to animals belonged to other tribes. — The "Blue Mountains" are "presumed to be the Rocky Mountains." — When the people gamble, one man "lost nearly all he had and wanted to stop, but his partner would not stop. Whereupon the man said, 'You will have to take (or kill) me then.' — 'Well,' answered the other; 'I will take you.' But in the next game the loser won back all he had lost, whereat the other player grew angry and the two began to fight." At that time the people divided into nine tribes. — When they reach the Missouri River (p. 124) it is said, "Now they knew what the boy meant by saying, 'We shall see life and live in it.' He meant the 'Sacred Water,' the Missouri (the breastbone of the great Mother Earth)." According to Mr. Grinnell, this name must be a translation of the Pawnee name of the Missouri River, *Kits'wá'rakxi* ("mysterious water"). — The beans which the boy took out of the bundle are in "the gullet of a buffalo." — The incident of obtaining the fire is not contained in Rev. Hall's version. — The two great fires that pursue the people are not identified with the two deserted dogs, but said to be "caused by the dogs," although later on the dogs in the same version say, "We have bitten you," meaning that the fire has harmed the people. — The record continues as told by Mr. Grinnell; but before the last paragraph on p. 127, the following incident is found: "While living near the Missouri River and planting their field the Arikara remembered those parts of the great original company who had wandered away, and concluded that the reason why they saw no more of them was because of a dense pine forest between them. They had recourse to the boy and his mysterious bundle again. In the bundle were seen birds' feathers, snake-skins, and other such things, but the first that moved was a mole who offered to make a road for one of the other tribes to return to them. The road he made is marked to-day by a very prominent break or chasm in the Black Hills. This second tribe was very glad to find a road through the forests of the Black Hills and speedily followed it. One night these strangers encamped in the Bad Lands and while they were feasting and dancing and singing there, one of them tramping about discovered the wonderful formation of rocks there that has the appearance of a deserted village. It was then occupied by one of the bands of the Arikara tribe who had the first horses these strangers had ever seen, and a pair were presented to the travellers. They then came on until they reached the Missouri River, where they found four bands of Arikara living together near the great bend of the Missouri, between Crow Creek and Fort Sully. As these two horses were brought into camp they were much wondered at and so highly prized that they were called 'mysterious dogs,' and were for several days worshipped. The Arikara have kept horses ever since, as they are good for travel, and do not as dogs give out in hot weather; and they are also valuable in hunting, and especially in Indian bartering. The Arikara have always kept near the Missouri River, and lived in great part by planting." Obviously this, if it belongs to the creation legend at all, is a late addition. The mythical origin of the horses is peculiar, since the Pawnee remember their first acquisitions (G. P. Grinnell, "Pawnee Hero Stories," pp. 249, 265). Mr. Grinnell, when recording the Arikara myth twenty years ago, did not hear

of horses in connection with the creation myth. Two-Crows (Kakapi'tka), then chief priest of the Arikara, told him distinctly that they had received their horses from the Omaha. They did not know what they were, nor their use, nor what they fed on.

Mr. Grinnell did not hear that the people were created by the Mother Corn, but the Arikara constantly expressed their reverence for her who gave them all their culture, taught them how to make kettles of clay, knives from stone in the ground, and how to make bows and arrows.

In regard to the term *Ne-sa'ru* used by G. A. Dorsey in his creation stories, Mr. Grinnell says that it is apparently the Arikara form of the Pawnee word *lesharu* ("chief"). It seems to mean "the chief person." Mr. Grinnell never heard this term used for *Ati'us*, the principal god.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN WINTUN INDIANS.¹—The following notes are based on the writer's boyhood recollections, forty and more years ago, of the Indians called Nomlaki, then living in the western part of Tehama County, along the upper portion of Elder and Thomas Creeks, in the vicinity of Lowrey, Paskenta, and Henleyville. The largest village with which the author was personally acquainted was on a confluent of Elder Creek, a few miles north of Henleyville.

In physical appearance these Indians were quite different from those of Pit River, and from the Konkaus of Maidu stock, who lived back of Chico. They were of medium stature and not notably inclined to be stout. Their features were good, and many women had beautiful hands and feet. The women generally wore their hair banged across the forehead. The men, as a rule, wore their hair short, searing it off with a coal. The beard was usually pulled out. The pubic hair was not removed, as it was by the Yuki and Pit River Indians. Tattooing was practised somewhat, but not extensively. The nose was occasionally perforated. I have some remembrance of seeing three or four shell beads (*mempak*) used as an ornament worn in the nose, but this was not customary. In general, bodily mutilations were not practised.

The various tribes of neighboring stocks were different from the Nomlaki in habits, implements, and physical appearance. The Yuki to the west were shorter, darker, rather broad, and with short necks and square shoulders. They were simpler or of a lower order in most things pertaining to their houses and mode of life. They were said to store no food, but to live from day to day. The Pit River Indians to the northeast resembled eastern Indians in general appearance, looking as though they might be related to tribes such as the Cheyenne. Their sharp eyes and pronounced features contrasted with the heavier and rather square features of the Nomlaki. The Konkau, of Maidu stock, to the east, seemed taller than the Nomlaki, and in certain ways resembled Hawaiians in their appearance.

The Nomlaki lived in a beautiful country with rolling hills and valleys, well watered and wooded. There were many springs, and it was near these that they generally lived. While the country mostly inhabited was between the Sacramento River and the Coast Range, trips were made to the river for the salmon-runs, and in the fall to gather wild grapes, while pine-nuts were

¹ Communicated as part of the Proceedings of the California Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society. A previous notice of these Indians by the author of the present paper has appeared in "Notes on California Folk-Lore," in this Journal, xix, 144, 1906.

gathered in the mountains. The mountains proper were not ordinarily inhabited. There was a strip of probably about twenty-five miles where no one lived. The crest of the range was the dividing-line between the two peoples. Any one found over the divide was likely to precipitate trouble. There was not very much intercourse across the Sacramento River. The people east of the river were reputed more warlike. The Nomlaki do not appear to have been troubled much with wars, the river protecting them on one side, and the mountains on the other. Ordinarily they lived perhaps ten or fifteen miles west of the river, and five or six miles east of the mountains. They themselves were peaceable and free from care. Having almost always abundant food and easy circumstances, they lacked incentive to war and expeditions for plunder.

Within their own speech or family they called the people to the north of them Wailaki ("north language"), and those to the south Noimok.

Articles of trade were principally salt, obsidian, and shells for beads. Salt was gathered by the Nomlaki at salt springs, and was always more or less mixed with dirt.

Obsidian was obtained by trade. A lump as large as a man's head brought articles to the value of twenty dollars. It was chipped with a wire about the size of a lead pencil. A piece of skin was used with it to protect the hand.

The shells used for making beads came from the south. They were large clams, four or five inches long and three inches wide. These were broken and made into disk beads. These beads, which were called *mempak* ("water-bone"), were the principal article of value and exchange. Their value depended on their thickness rather than on their size, and also in large measure on their age and the degree of polish which they had acquired by carrying and use.

Cylinders of colored stone perforated longitudinally, and strung with disk beads, were brought from Lake County, and were very valuable, bringing from five to ten dollars.

Shells and shell beads other than *mempak* were not much used. Dentalia and haliotis were known and somewhat employed, but were little valued.

The principal villages were more or less permanently inhabited. They were always situated where wood and water were abundant, and consisted usually of about five or six houses. These were often arranged more or less regularly in rows. The houses in appearance were mound-shaped. The supports and frame were of oak logs and were thatched. The entrance was low, so that it was necessary to stoop to pass through it. In the centre of the house was the fire, the smoke coming out through a hole at the top. The houses were small, averaging perhaps a dozen feet in diameter.

The so-called sweat-house, which was really a dance-house, was larger. The ground was excavated for it. The frame rested largely on a centre pole from which logs radiated. The centre pole was not used in the dwelling-houses. The dance-house was not used for ordinary purposes or sleeping. It was distinctly festive and ceremonial in character. It was not used for sweating. Many of these houses were built where there was no water available for swimming after a sweat.

Conditions of life were unusually favorable. The country was covered with wild oats, which had only to be beaten into baskets when ripe. The hills were studded with oaks, from which acorns were obtained. From these both bread and soup were made. The bread was of two kinds, one white, the other black.

The latter was rather sweet, and appears to have been made with the admixture of a certain kind of clay. At any rate, this clay was used as food, being mixed with acorn-flour. The wild oats were parched with live-coals in flat circular baskets, which were given a continuous tossing motion. The coals not only roasted the grains, but burned the chaff. After parching, the oats were pounded to meal. Buckeyes were eaten after the poison had been extracted by leaching or filtration.

There was some provision for the future in the matter of vegetable food. Inclosures of wattles for preserving oats and seeds were made near the house, and sometimes in the house. Acorns were also stored. Besides other methods, the following was employed in years when there was a large crop. The acorns were put into boggy holes near a spring, where the water flowed over them continuously. In this way they would keep for years.

Their fishing was very simple. Salmon in many cases could literally be scooped out, especially when they ran up small streams. Fish-traps of branches were also quickly and readily made. These had wing-dams leading to them; and the fish, on arriving at the end of the trap, rolled out of the water. The Sacramento River at certain seasons was full of salmon, so that from this source alone the Indians were absolutely relieved from serious trouble about their food.

Game was equally abundant, the quantity of deer and elk being enormous. Rabbits and squirrels were of course proportionately plentiful. The principal method of hunting was driving. In this way rabbits and deer were killed. Large parties were formed to drive the game over a certain territory to a particular point. Much noise was made to confuse the animals, which were finally driven into nets. In hunting rabbits, knobbed throwing-sticks were used. These were perhaps four feet long, made of a stick from a shrub with a piece of root attached. The thickness was about that of a man's thumb. The Indians could throw these sticks with great accuracy, and kill rabbits more effectively with them than with arrows. Besides being important in the hunt, these sticks were used in games of skill.

When rabbits and small game were killed, the body was skinned and cleaned. It was then laid on a stone and pounded with a pestle until thoroughly crushed. After this it was cooked and eaten entire.

Grasshoppers, larvæ of bees and wasps, and worms, were eaten. Snakes and lizards were not eaten, and much aversion was felt to the oysters of the whites. Grasshoppers were captured by being driven after the grass had been fired. Worms were taken when the ground was sodden with rain. A stick was put into the earth and worked around and around. All the worms within a radius of five or six feet came rushing out of the ground, and were simply gathered up. They were eaten cooked.

The chief possessed little but nominal authority. Conditions may possibly have been different in this respect before the coming of the Americans. One of the principal functions of a chief or prominent man was haranguing. The speaker used a different inflection of the voice when haranguing, and repeated words over and over. Much of the harangues was difficult to understand. They were unintelligible to me, and appear to have been partly so at least to the younger Indians. A man that could harangue well was considered an important person.

There was no system of punishment for crime or offence. I never knew of a

case of murder within the tribe. Adultery does not seem to have been punished except by beating. The Indians did not seem to have violent passions, but were a jolly, light-hearted people.

They were taciturn only on one occasion. If one went for a visit, there was no greeting. The visitor sat down, and for some time no one said a word. This was customary and proper when a visit was made. After a considerable time they would begin to speak of the object of the visit.

Ordinarily only three terms of color were used, — *kula* ("black"); *ihuyoka* ("white"); and *tedeka* ("colored").

When a person saw a desirable piece of fallen wood, he stood it up against a tree, thereby establishing his ownership of it. This ownership was respected. In general, the Indians were not at all thievish. Fire-wood was sometimes brought in by the men as well as by the women.

At death, mourners, usually old women, often came from a distance. They were paid for their services. They blackened their faces and breasts with tar, allowing it to remain on the skin until it fell off. The younger women ordinarily did not disfigure themselves in this way. The hair was cut short in mourning. Crying, lamenting, and singing went on during the day and at night. Valuables were generally buried with the body. The effects of the dead were burned. In addition to these observances at the death, gatherings for the purpose of mourning for the dead were held also at other times.

The names of the dead were not mentioned. People were also very reluctant to mention their own names, and were offended if asked.

One of the principal amusements was shooting at a mark with arrows. Another game was to throw hunting-sticks at a mark. What was known as the grass game was used for gambling. This was a guessing-game played with bones held in the hand. In addition, there was a guessing-game played with a large number of slender sticks resembling the game-sets of the Hupa.

There were professional doctors who were paid for their services. Their chief remedy was sucking. Medicines were used little or not at all. The doctors put objects into their mouths and pretended to draw them from the sick person. Often this object seems to have been a piece of deer-sinew chewed until white and soft.

These Indians possessed secret societies. They were reluctant to reveal anything concerning them. One was called *po'mali* ("fire-makers"). In dances, head-bands of yellowhammer-feathers were used. On special occasions there were also large headdresses of eagle-feathers. In dancing, certain persons acted extravagantly, apparently to provoke applause. At a girl's first menstruation there was a ceremony at which a dance was held.

F. B. Washington.

LOCAL MEETINGS

NEW YORK BRANCH

In the beginning of January, at the invitation of Professor Boas, a meeting was held for the purpose of discussing the advisability and possibility of organizing a New York Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society. At this meeting a committee of four was appointed, and charged with the preparation of definite plans for the establishment of a branch. The committee consisted

of Dr. Robert H. Lowie, Chairman, Dr. Ernst Riess, Mr. Stansbury Hagar, and Mr. Leo J. Frachtenberg. After securing the support of a number of local members of the American Folk-Lore Society and of others interested in folk-lore, the committee drew up a tentative Constitution. On February 16, 1909, the Chairman of the Committee called a meeting, at which the New York Branch was formally organized, with a membership of thirty. The Constitution and By-Laws prepared by the committee were amended and adopted, and the following officers were elected: *President*, Robert H. Lowie; *Vice-President*, Joseph Jacobs; *Secretary*, Leo J. Frachtenberg; *Treasurer*, Stansbury Hagar; *Executive Committee*, Franz Boas, Marshall H. Saville, E. W. Deming. *Leo J. Frachtenberg*, Secretary.

BOSTON BRANCH

The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Boston Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society was observed on Friday, January 29, by a meeting in Hotel Vendôme. The President, Professor F. W. Putnam, gave an account of the history of the Branch, and paid a warm tribute to the memory of William Wells Newell, prime mover in the organization of the Society, and its general secretary until his death. Other speakers of the evening were Dr. Clarence J. Blake, Professor Crawford H. Toy, Professor Charles E. Fay, and Professor George L. Kittredge. In the twenty years of its existence the Boston Branch has held 116 stated meetings, the total number of papers read before the Branch was 123. Thirty of these treated of the North American Indian; six, of the natives of Central America; five each, of the Aleutians and Eskimo, and of China. Eleven papers were devoted to European folk-lore in America, and six to Negro folk-lore, with special attention to Negro music. Among other subjects discussed, the following may be mentioned: four papers each on Africa, Hawaii, Japan, and Buddhist customs; three on the gypsies; two papers each on the folk-lore of the following countries: Syria, Australia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, Iceland, Russia, Turkey, Armenia, Arabia, Ireland, Scotland, and France. There was one paper each on the folk-lore of the French Canadians, the Philippine Islands, Central Asia, New Guinea, and the creoles of Jamaica. Two papers dealt with Shakespearian folk-lore, one with the street-cries of London.

Helen Leah Reed, Secretary.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT

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BOOK REVIEWS

THE ELDER OR POETIC EDDA, commonly known as Sæmund's Edda. Part I. The Mythological Poems. Edited and translated, with introduction and notes, by OLIVE BRAY. Illustrated by W. G. Collingwood. Printed for the Viking Club. King's Weighhouse Club, London, 1908.

The title-page does not indicate the peculiar advantages of this translation of the Edda. In the first place, the introduction contains not only a brief ac-

count of the various manuscripts of the poems, and remarks in general on the Northern mythology, but also a full explanation and argument of each of the poems in the book. These aids are very desirable, and even necessary for one who is not more or less familiar with the poems in the original. More important still, the Old Norse text and the English translation are printed side by side on opposite pages throughout. This method, which has been sometimes used in the translation of classics from other languages, is by all means the most convenient. For one who has studied the original, it is of great assistance when he is looking up references; for one, too, who wishes to learn the original on his own account, it is of considerable help, in that it saves a great deal of time usually spent in thumbing a dictionary; and to one who is interested chiefly in getting at the ideas of the work, it gives constantly the opportunity of at least seeing these ideas clothed in their original dress.

The Old Norse text of this edition is based on that of Gering (Paderborn, 1904), but variant readings of important passages are given in footnotes. The text is accompanied by thirty-three excellent illustrations, which have the comparatively rare merit of really helping the reader to visualize the action and of suggesting the atmosphere of the poems.

The editor, departing from the order of the Codex Regius, puts the *Grimnismál* first, and the *Völuspá* last. This is an advisable change from the point of view of one approaching the Edda for the first time; for, though the *Grimnismál*, by reason of interpolations, is inferior to many of the other poems, yet, by giving very useful information concerning the life of the gods, it is valuable by way of explanation and introduction; and the *Völuspá*, difficult because of its allusive character, is appropriately placed last, in a position where the allusions become more intelligible.

The question whether the translation would not have been better in prose than in verse is more debatable. Certainly, a good line-for-line translation of any poem requires a great deal of skill and ingenuity; and when one tries, in addition, to maintain the rhythm and to suggest the alliteration of the original, the difficulties are multiplied. In this case the problem is solved more successfully than one would expect: the translation is everywhere perfectly intelligible and reads smoothly; and the lines and strophes opposite their originals make reference and comparison very easy.

The bibliographies of the manuscripts, texts, translations, glossaries, commentaries, and scholarly articles in periodicals, are valuable; the indexes of the Icelandic text and of the translation will also be found useful; and the paper, typography, binding, and general make-up of the volume are attractive and in good taste.

As stated in the introduction, the primary object of the book is to appeal "less to scholars and students than to all who have sufficient taste for mythology, and understanding of old lore, to recognize the truth and beauty which are not expressed in precisely the forms and language of to-day." Accordingly, both the general introduction and the more elaborate introductory explanations of the separate poems do not assume that the reader has a wide knowledge of the Old Norse literature or mythology. For the benefit of the general reader also, the editor has translated the proper names where possible; thus, for example, Odin's names *Grimer* and *Gangleri* appear as *Hood-Winker* and *Wanderer*. To one familiar with Old Norse, this translation of proper names may seem unnecessary, and perhaps undesirable; but it is quite

consistent with the general aim of the book, which is, as already stated, to serve primarily those not familiar with the original.

The translator's chief aim, then, was to introduce the uninitiated to the mysteries of the Northern mythology and to the beauties of the Eddic poems. One may say that on the whole this object has been attained, and, furthermore, that not only for the general reader, but also for the student of Old Norse, the work is of positive value. It is to be hoped that the translator will proceed in the same manner with the heroic poems of the Edda.

On page 322, for "brother's" read "brothers."

J. W. Rankin.

SOCIAL CONDITION, BELIEFS, AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS. By JOHN R. SWANTON. (Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1908, pp. 391-485.)

This paper embodies a portion of the material collected by Dr. Swanton during an expedition to Sitka and Wrangell. Perhaps the most important theoretical point made by the author is the establishment of a remote affinity between the Haida and Tlingit languages. This conclusion is stated with considerable caution. Swanton insists on the existence of great differences, and regards an indirect relationship, through differentiation from a common ancestral Athapascan tongue, as a possibility to be reckoned with (p. 485). The linguistic section apart, it is difficult to select for consideration any special points, without undue neglect of equally valuable data. The following details are therefore offered merely to direct attention to a few features of general interest. The Tlingit were separated into two exogamic phratries with maternal descent. One phratry was known as Raven in all the geographical divisions; the other was usually called Wolf, and in the north also Eagle. Each phratry was subdivided into clans, usually deriving their name from some town or camp they had once occupied, but constituting social rather than local divisions, as a clan might be distributed among two or more geographical groups. The clans were again divided into house groups, the members of which occupied one or several houses. An interesting anomaly is presented by the Nexa'dl clan of the Sanya division. This group stands outside of the phratric moieties, intermarriage with either being permissible. The segmentation of each tribe into two sides is of fundamental importance, affecting every-day life in many of its phases. Thus it was the duty of every one to practise unbounded hospitality in the case of a member of the same phratry; attendants on women in labor were chosen from the opposite phratry; and for the mourning feasts only members of the side complementary to that of the mourners were invited. Unlike the Haida, among whom the feast given to the opposite phratry on a relative's death was overshadowed by a chief's potlatch to his own moiety, the Tlingit practised the potlatch observances exclusively for the sake of dead fellow-clansmen, and with the exclusive participation of the opposite phratry in the reception of property, the erection of mortuary houses or poles, and the esoteric performances appropriate to the occasion. The visiting phratry was divided into two temporarily antagonistic parties, eager to discover flaws in each other's conduct, and easily embroiled in serious quarrels. Imitations of crest animals were in order; and secret-society dances, though less important than among the Tsimshian and Kwa-

kiutl, were celebrated. Pure entertainment had its place; and the use of "inverted speech" — that is, of phrases expressing the reverse of the intended meaning (p. 440) — is noteworthy. A point of interest in connection with the social life of the Tlingit is the social inequality of the clans, some of them being regarded as "high caste," and others as "low caste." Their relative importance, according to Swanton, resulted from the size of their towns and the proximity of the towns to trade-routes (p. 427).

Several chapters are devoted to the fundamental religious conceptions of the Tlingit. The world was peopled with an indefinite number of spirits (*yek*), each object having one principal and several subsidiary spirits. Powers of a specific character were credited to a great variety of real and mythical beings. Raven is the organizer of the present condition of the world. The killer-whale was held in reverence, though not to quite the same extent as among the Haida. Land-otters were dreaded, because they liked to abduct men and transform them into land-otter men. The Haida belief in spirits that brought wealth to those that saw or heard them was shared by the Tlingit. Conceptions of a hereafter were derived from men who had died and been restored to life. The home of departed souls was located above the plane of the world, and distinct quarters were allotted to those who had died by violence. Sickness and death were nearly always ascribed to witchcraft, relevant superstitions falling under the category of sympathetic magic. North Pacific coast shamanism, according to the author, reached its climax among the Tlingit. The shaman was more influential than among the Haida, and was generally of higher social standing. He possessed a number of masks, and was assisted by a number of helpers. He not only cured sickness, but was able to locate food-supplies and to destroy enemies in war. The influence of the social division of the tribe is seen in the fact that the spirits of Raven shamans were distinct from those of the Wolf phratry. The prominence of sea-helpers, such as killer-whales, is noticeably less than among the Haida (p. 465). Spirits were inherited from uncle to nephew, rarely from father to son. Sometimes the succession was determined, by the spirits themselves, before the shaman's death.

Even in this brief notice some mention should be made of the plates (Plates XLVIII—LVI) illustrating ceremonial hats and facial paintings of the Tlingit. The symbolical interpretations of the latter are frequently topographical, but also include references to mythological events. Realistic representations of animal forms are of special interest.

— Robert H. Lowie.

FOLKLORE AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE. By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME. Methuen & Co. London, 1908. xvi+371 p.

The title of this work gives a very inadequate notion of its contents. Under the captions History and Folklore, Material and Methods, Psychological Conditions, Anthropological Conditions, Sociological Conditions, European Conditions, and Ethnological Conditions, Professor Gomme discusses not merely the relation of folk-lore to history, but a variety of subjects more or less closely related to the scientific study of folk-lore. Indeed, the only chapter strictly devoted to the vindication of folk-lore as an historical science comprises but one third of the entire volume, and is explicitly regarded by the author as preliminary (p. xiii); in other words, it is rather an introduction to the study of folk-lore that the reader has to deal with.

In some of his general anthropological discussions, the author's theories will hardly go unchallenged. Thus, he confidently states that "at almost the first point of origin in savage society we see man acting consciously, and it is amongst his conscious acts that we must place those traces of a sort of primitive legislation which have been found" (pp. 212, 213). Again, Gomme postulates for the earliest stage of society a group without any tie of kinship operating as a social force, and would have us believe that the social insignificance of the purely physical relationship between even mother and child is attested by the inclusiveness of the corresponding Australian relationship terms (p. 232). In accordance with this view, the Arunta system of local totemism, independent of either paternal or maternal totems, is adduced as an instance of the primitive kinless type of organization (p. 266 *et seq.*). A notable difference between the author's attitude with respect to totemism and that of other English ethnologists is his complete dissociation of the religious from the social aspect of the problem. He is thus able to indicate remarkable totemic superstitions in modern Ireland, which he conceives as survivals from the more fully developed totemic system of belief of the early Britons (pp. 276-296). On other points, Professor Gomme closely follows the traditions of the English school. Thus he states that "it is now one of the accepted facts of anthropology that at certain stages of savage life fatherhood was not recognized," and uses this "fact" to explain the king's desire to marry his daughter in the European story of Catskin (pp. 59-64). It is the more gratifying to find him at other times judiciously critical of the comparative methods employed by some of his most distinguished fellow-students. This is particularly noticeable in his plea that "parallel practices are not necessarily evidence of parallels in culture," which leads him to reject Frazer's elaborate hypotheses (pp. 109, 110). That similarity in form does not necessarily indicate either an historical or a psychological unity of origin is also well illustrated in a comparison of European and African "junior right" (pp. 171-174). A point of equal value is made where the author indicates the specialization of primitive peoples in certain directions, with concomitant lack of development in other directions, the influence of cattle-rearing on every phase of Toda culture being used to illustrate the former tendency (pp. 227-230).

Most of the theoretical views referred to are propounded in the long discussion of Anthropological Conditions. The chapter on Psychological Conditions (pp. 180-207) contains a suggestive evaluation of the relative influence of tradition and persistently primitive psychological constitution on the development of superstition. Though some of the concrete instances cited to exemplify the second of these factors are not altogether convincing, Gomme's general principle, that, granting the overshadowing influence of tradition, the importance of the other element should not be minimized, will be recognized as sound. The fact that the work forms part of a series dedicated to English antiquities has largely determined the author's choice of illustrations. The chapters on Sociological and Ethnological (and, of course, that on European) Conditions are based almost entirely on European material. Here, as elsewhere, the author does not deal exhaustively with the subject; but his insistence on the necessity of studying customs and beliefs in their natural settings, instead of wresting them from their cultural context (pp. 305, 365), is worthy of popularization, whether his classification of survivals into tribal

and non-tribal items — that is, into elements once related with a tribal and a non-tribal social system — prove feasible or not.

Compared with some of his general ethnological views, Professor Gomme's conception of mythology and folk-tales seems rather one-sided. While rightly insisting on the foundation of folk-tales on the facts of real life (p. 128), he adheres rigidly to the theory in which it is assumed that myths are the serious philosophical conceptions of rationalizing primitive folk, and become folk-tales by a process of degeneration (pp. 129-150). That folk-tales may have existed simultaneously with serious myths, or may have become invested with a philosophical aspect at a later stage, is not even mentioned as a possibility.

The treatment of the more special subject indicated in the title of the book does not seem to me convincing. The point that folk-tales represent the everyday life of the primitive story-teller, which has been repeatedly urged by Lang, Hartland, and other English students, is, of course, well taken, and some of Gomme's illustrations are skilfully selected to enforce it; but extreme caution is required in inferring the pristine occurrence of an institution from an incident in folk-literature. The author's interpretation of the Catskin story has already been referred to. The youngest-son stories, which Gomme, like others, inclines to view as evidence for the former reign of junior-right (p. 313), may less artificially be accounted for by the principle of rhetorical climax. The question raised by Mr. Joseph Jacobs as to in how far the conception of folk-tales as documents of culture-history is modified by the undoubted occurrence of diffusion, is not dealt with. Indeed, incredible as it may seem in a work of this sort, the whole subject of diffusion is dismissed in half a dozen lines, in which the author states his conviction not only that diffusion cannot account for all parallels (in which most students will concur), but also that "diffusion occupies a very small part indeed of the problem, and that it only takes place in late historical times" (p. 153). The question how to account for similarities in South Pacific and American Indian folk-lore, or for the homologies more recently revealed by Jochelson and Ehrenreich between Siberian and North American, and North American and South American, mythologies respectively, — fraught as the data are with historical significance, — is wholly neglected. A hardly less serious deficiency is the absence of a thoroughgoing investigation of the historical value of oral tradition, — a point of extreme theoretical significance. While claiming an historical value for orally transmitted tales, Professor Gomme, without entering into a treatment of the theoretical question involved, merely shows that legends of historical personages or localities may conceivably, if written history and speculation are impressed into the service, yield a confirmation of already known facts, or explain why popular hero-myths cluster about an historical character. Two instances of traditional beliefs preserved through centuries, and verified by recent excavation, are mentioned in footnotes (pp. 30, 31, 45). A discussion of the direct historical value of tradition and of the distribution of folk-lore would seem to merit a much fuller treatment, and would greatly enhance the value of Professor Gomme's book.

Robert H. Lowie.

RECORD OF NEGRO FOLK-LORE

ANANCY STORIES FROM JAMAICA. — Since reviewing W. Jekyll's "Jamaican Song and Story" (this *Journal*, vol. xxi, pp. 265-267), the writer has come across an interesting little book, "A Selection of Anancy Stories" (77 pp.), by "Wona," published at Kingston, Jamaica, in 1899. The collection contains the following tales: Do-mek-a-see; Put you down a me wife pot; Tocooma a me fadder ole ridin' harse; Anancy and bredda firefly; Anancy and the sheep; Anancy and bredda tiger; Dry head; Tumbletut; Anancy's deserts; Groun' hab yie; Anancy and bredda dog; Anancy meets bredda death. Most of the stories occur in both books; and there is considerable difference, sometimes, in the two versions; as for example, in the tale of Anancy and Brother Death. The "fire-fly" of the Wona stories is the "candle-fly" of the Jekyll tales. The familiar end-line of the latter, "Jack Montora me no choose any," appears in the former as "Jack Mondory I don't choose none;" Tacoma, the son of Anancy, as Tocooma. In the Wona stories, Anancy's wife is Crooky. The story of "Tocooma a me fadder ole ridin' harse" is familiar to readers of "Uncle Remus." In the Wona tale, "Anancy married Miss Rose, and lived happily for some time after." A bug-a-boo appearing in the Wona stories is "Old Hige," and we are told that "in the old slavery days it was the custom for the Nana, or nurse, to tell the breathless little 'buckra pickney-dem' these stories at night before chalking the door to keep away the dreadful 'Old Hige'" (p. 5). The author reports that "there has grown up among the Negroes themselves a strange, almost inexplicable feeling, somewhat akin to shame, which prevents their relating these stories even in the privacy of their own huts, as they once did."

NEGRO AND INDIAN. — In his article on "The Negroes and the Creek Nation," in the "Southern Workman" (vol. xxxvii, pp. 106-110), for February, 1908, Dr. F. G. Speck calls attention to the remarkable ethnological phenomenon presented by the race-amalgam of the Creek Indians and African Negroes (originally slaves). The following statement is of great interest to the folklorist: "Not only in matters of blood kinship, war and industry was the amalgamation of the two strains producing results, but the mental attitude of the Indians was being changed by intimacy with the Negroes. While the latter had almost completely lost their old African culture under the stress of existence in bondage, there was, nevertheless, a certain underlying and unchanging stratum of thought and action which stood by them throughout. And these qualities were by daily contact producing a change in the life of the Creeks which went hand in hand with their change of blood." To-day, "almost without exception, the Negroes who have been slaves to the Creeks, and who may not have Indian blood in their veins, speak Creek as fluently as they do English; many of them, indeed, speak English poorly, and with an Indian accent and idiom, — this is naturally true of those of mixed Indian and Negro blood." Perhaps the Negroes have influenced somewhat the Creek language. In mythology and folk-lore, in all probability, Negro influence is discernible. On the other hand, "the Negroes and mixed-bloods have adapted themselves readily to the Creek harvest ceremony in the absence of other religious activities, and many so-called pagan Creeks, who follow the old beliefs, are of very dark skin and present physically more Negro

than Indian features." Again, "in the ordinary customs of daily life and practice (especially superstitions) the Negroes and mixed-bloods of the nation show the characteristics of the Creeks." Dr. Speck notes that "the Negroes have had the effect of minimizing the credulity and the seriousness with which the Creeks regarded their native beliefs." The nation at present consists of four classes: (1) Old full-blood conservative Indians with nearly all of their native attributes; (2) the mixed Indian-Negroes, conservative and Indianized; (3) the modernized progressive Indians and mixed-bloods; (4) the old Negro freedmen, who hold themselves intact from both modern influences and Indian influences. Of these the second class is the most numerous and may become dominant. Dr. Speck sees a future in store for this race-mixture so remarkable in several respects.

VOODOO. — In the "Metropolitan Magazine" (N. Y.) for August, 1908 (vol. xxviii, pp. 529-538), Marvin Dana has an illustrated article on "Voodoo, its Effects on the Negro Race," based on Larousse, Miss Owen, the "Saturday Review," Sir Spenser St. John, etc., and the author's own observations. The voodoo practitioners in North America, according to Mr. Dana, "are scattered all over the land, in the North as well as in the South, from New York to Florida;" and "there is an annual gathering of the elect in Louisiana, which is held on St. John's Eve, June 23, at a lonely spot, somewhere in the neighborhood of Lake Pontchartrain, but the exact location is kept secret." The voodoo sorcerers of the United States have "a language of their own, — a mixture of African words with French." In Louisiana, this secret jargon is known as "gumbo," not to be confounded with the common speech thus named. The author styles voodoo "an African fetish worship of the basest sort," more vicious in America even than in the land of its origin. Voodoo reached the United States from Haiti, whither "the *vodun* cult, with its adoration of the snake god, was carried by slaves from Ardra and Whydah, where the faith still remains to-day."

SPIRIT OF NEGRO POETRY. — In the "Southern Workman" (vol. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 73-77), Mr. Monroe N. Work writes of "The Spirit of Negro Poetry" before and after the war. Slave-songs were universal and personal; they were religious, and emphasized the future life; they expressed an unquestioning faith in God, and in the strength of the Negro, his ability to endure, etc. The present-day poetry of the Negro is individualistic and impersonal; objective; the religious element is not so emphasized, and there are now strains of uncertainty and doubt. The author thinks that "the deep inner life of the Negroes may be a fruitful theme" again, as in slavery days. In connection with this article should be read Dr. Proctor's discussion of "The Theology of the Songs of the Southern Slave," in the same periodical for November and December, 1907.

SEA ISLAND NEGROES. — The story "I sho ben lub dat buckra," published by J. E. Blanton, in the "Southern Workman" (vol. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 242-246), is stated to be "a very interesting and valuable bit of folk-lore, representing as it does the dialect and mode of expression of the Sea-Islanders of South Carolina."

BRAZILIAN NEGROES. — In "Anthropos" (vol. iii, 1908, pp. 881-904) E. Ignace discusses "Le fétichisme des nègres du Brésil." The article is based on the author's personal observations, with additions from Nina Rodriguez's "L'animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia" (Bahia, 1900), and

J. do Rio's "As Religiões no Rio" (Rio, 1904). It treats of fetishism of the Brazilian negroes; theology (*Olorun* supreme being; 16 *orisas* or saints), fetishes (*orisas* are fixed in objects by the priest; totemism only secondarily important; phylolatry little developed; 3 classes of "magic" objects), anthropology, angelology, cosmology, eschatology, morality, hierarchy (priests, fortune-tellers, sorcerers), fetishistic liturgy (oratories, musical instruments), calendar (days of week consecrated to various *orisas*; each saint has an annual festival), ceremonies (numerous dances, sacrifices, "saint-making"), sorcery, oracles; contact of fetishism and Christianity. On p. 885 is given a list of the 16 *orisas* or saints, their colors, fetishes, sacred foods, and the figures in Christianity (Nosso Senhor de Bomfim, the Devil, Sainte Barbe à Bahia, St. Georges à Rio, St. Antoine à Bahia, the Holy Sacrament, St. Georges à Bahia). These studies of the religion of Brazilian negroes are of great psychological and ethnological value.

A. F. C.

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THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

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THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARMS¹

BY FELIX GRENDON

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THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

No complete and separate edition of the Anglo-Saxon charms has yet been published, nor has any interpretative work been issued which covers the field; but texts of all the known charms have been printed, and many of the poetical incantations have been singly and minutely treated from a linguistic as well as from a literary point of view. The present publication aims to furnish a detailed treatment of the subject. All the Anglo-Saxon metrical incantations are presented in the text, as well as all prose charms with vernacular or gibberish formulas; while exorcisms with Christian liturgical formulas, and Old English recipes involving charm practices, are represented by typical specimens. In the critical treatment of the exorcisms no attempt has been made to cover either the general European or the more limited Germanic field; but while a searching investigation has been made only among the Anglo-Saxon charms, incidental illustrations from other sources — European and Asiatic — are introduced whenever needed to support an argument.

The earliest English charms extant are undoubtedly those in a British

¹ I desire to thank Professor George Philip Krapp of the University of Cincinnati for the kindness with which he gave me the benefit of his scholarship and special knowledge at every turn in this investigation. I am also indebted to Professor William Witherly Lawrence of Columbia University for many helpful suggestions and criticisms.

Museum manuscript (Regius 12 D xvii) which dates from the second half of the tenth century. This manuscript (described by Leonhardi ["Kleinere Ags. Schrift." p. 110] and also by Cockayne [ii, xx ff.]), known as the "Leech Book," is a compilation of recipes drawn, in large part, from Greek and Latin sources. Some herbal,¹ and most of the trans-ferential, amulet, and remedial charms in the following pages are taken from the Regius Manuscript.

Nearly all the amulet and remedial charms not in the "Leech Book" are found in Harley 585 and in Harley 6258 b, both manuscripts in the British Museum. Harley 585, a Northumbrian manuscript of the late eleventh century, is described by Leonhardi (p. 157). It contains two collections of recipes, — the one which Cockayne called "Lacnunga," and the so-called "Herbarium." Harley 6258 b, a manuscript of the middle of the twelfth century (minutely described by Berberich, in his edition of the "Herbarium," pp. 1-4), furnishes another text of the "Herbarium" remedies. This Anglo-Saxon "Herbarium" is really a free translation — with interpolations from Germanic folk-lore — of a book of medical recipes ascribed to Lucius Apuleius (born about A. D. 125).

Some exorcismal and herbal charms appear in the foregoing manuscripts, but a majority of the A and B spells are scattered through sixteen manuscripts variously preserved in the British Museum, in the Cambridge Corpus Christi Library, and in the Bodleian and Hatton Libraries at Oxford. These manuscripts are named and dated in the Table of Abbreviations (p. 160).

Humphrey Wanley was the first to print an Anglo-Saxon charm. In his "*Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, Liber Alter*" (Oxford, 1705), he included texts of A 14, A 16, and A 21. The collations were fairly accurate, but were unaccompanied by textual or other comments. Eighty years passed before the text of another spell, A 13, was published by Erasmus Nyerup, in "*Symbolæ ad Literaturam Teutonicam Antiquiorem editæ sumtibus P. Fr. Suhm. (Havniæ, 1787).*" Another gap of sixty years ensued. Then, from the time that B. Thorpe ("*Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*" [London, 1834]) and T. Wright ("*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*" [2 vols., London, 1841]) included one or two conjurations in their respective volumes, critical notices and editions began to appear. A pioneer in charm criticism was Jacob Grimm, who, in 1842, cited a few of the poetical incantations in his "*Deutsche Mythologie*" (Göttingen, 1835), chapter on "Sprüche und Segen," and in a later edition of the same work made other citations in the "Anhang" under "Beschwörungen." The

¹ The spells here collected (pp. 164-213) are arranged in five groups, designated A, B, C, D, and E respectively. For an explanation of the grouping, see p. 123. All the minor spells not here printed are indicated by double letters: AA, BB, CC, etc. A list of these follows the Table of Abbreviations (see p. 162).

charms in the 1842 edition were accompanied by emended forms and brief critical passages, but those in the "Anhang" were printed without comment. Grimm was of course dealing with the Germanic field in general; yet in his discussion of magic formulas he gave considerable space to Anglo-Saxon material; and while his emendations were not always happy ones, his work is noteworthy for the prominence given to exorcismal lore, for the first German renderings of English spells, and for the first printed appearance of any of the prose charms.¹ The five chronologically succeeding editions each contain from one to six of the charms, copied from Grimm. These editors were J. M. Kemble ("The Saxons in England" [2 vols., London, 1849]), who translated some of the formulas; L. F. Klipstein ("Analecta Anglo-Saxonica" [2 vols., New York, 1849]); L. Ettmüller ("Engla and Seaxna Scôpas and Bôceras" [Quedlinburg, 1850]), who first suggested improvements on Grimm's readings; K. W. Bouterwek ("Cædmon's des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen" [2 Teile, Gütersloh, 1854]); and Max Rieger ("Alt- und angelsächsisches Lesebuch" [Giessen, 1861]).

So far, no recognition had been given to the charms as a separate body of Old English material. In 1864, however, T. O. Cockayne published his "Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England" (3 vols., London, 1864), containing the surviving medical books of the Anglo-Saxons, and two sections entitled "Charms." With four exceptions, this book included all extant Old English conjurations, although these were not all arranged consecutively. Indeed, the two sections of charms comprised but a fraction of the whole body of spells, the majority of which were scattered through the several books of recipes. Cockayne did not attempt any interpretative treatment of the incantations, but confined himself to a discussion of the Greek and Latin sources from which many Anglo-Saxon charms were borrowed.

After Cockayne, texts of single charms were issued in reading-books, anthologies, and periodicals. Editions appeared in the works of Rask-Thorpe ("A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue," 2d ed., revised and translated by B. Thorpe [London, 1865]); Henry Sweet ("An Anglo-Saxon Reader" [Oxford, 1876]); W. de Gray Birch ("On Two Anglo-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum" [in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," 2d series, xi, 463 ff., London, 1878]); R. P. Wülker ("Kleinere angelsächsische Dichtungen" [Halle, 1882]); H. Berberich ("Das Herbarium Apuleii" [Heidelberg, 1902]); and J. M. McBryde, Jr. ("Charms to Recover Stolen Cattle" [in "Modern Language Notes," xxi, 180-183]). In Berberich's book the charms are not designated as such, but merely form part of the recipe collection. Mr. McBryde, in his extended criticism of A 15, points out the separation of

¹ The charms are retranslated into English in J. S. Stallybrass' translation of the fourth edition of Grimm's work, *Teutonic Mythology* (4 vols., London, 1883).

Parts I and II into "formula proper" and "legal oath." In analyzing Part I, moreover, he is the first to distinguish the recurrent Anglo-Saxon charm motives on the principle adopted by O. Ebermann ("Blut- und Wundsegen" ["Palæstra," xxiv, Berlin, 1903]) in investigating German conjurations.

A newly collated edition of the "Leech Book" and the "Lacnunga"—already published in Cockayne's work—was issued by G. Leonhardi ("Kleinere angelsächsische Denkmäler, I") in Wülker's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa," Bd. vi (Hamburg, 1905). Leonhardi printed all the prose incantations belonging to the A group, and, with few exceptions, all the B, C, D, and E charms, as well as eighty out of the eighty-four charms and charm remedies referred to, but not printed, in the present edition. The spells are not specified as such, not being distinguished from the rest of the collection of recipes in Leonhardi's book. There is no critical commentary, but variant readings and linguistic notes are appended to the text.

An elaborate philological analysis and criticism of an Old English charm (viz. A 4) was first undertaken by J. Zupitza ("Ein verkannter englischer Bienensegen" ["Anglia," i, 189 ff., 1878]). In another paper, "Ein Zauberspruch" (ZfdA. xxxi, 45, 1887), the same editor similarly discusses A 3. Both articles included texts and German translations of the formulas under examination. In the footsteps of Zupitza followed J. Hoops ("Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen" [Freiburg i. B., 1889]) and O. B. Schlutter ("Anglo-Saxonica" ["Anglia," xxx, 123 ff., 239 ff., 394 ff., and xxxi, 55 ff.]), who gave scholarly critical editions of B 4 (Hoops) and A 2, A 14, and AA 1 (Schlutter), with German translations appended.

A notable collection of incantations was included in R. P. Wülker's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," Bd. i (Kassel, 1883). It comprised all the Anglo-Saxon verse formulas (except A 3; A 15, Part II; B 5; and AA 18). This was the first authoritative text of any considerable collection of the charms, and was accompanied with variant readings and occasional textual notes. Suggestive critical discussions of single charms or of parts of different charms may be found in the same author's "Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur" (Leipzig, 1885); in A. Fischer's "Aberglaube unter den Angelsachsen" (Meiningen, 1891); and in H. Bradley's "The Song of the Nine Magic Herbs" ("Archiv," cxiii, 144, 1904). Kögel's "Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur" (Strassburg, 1894) contains several chapters devoted to Old Germanic charm practices, to the origin of charms, to their method of intonation, and to the metrical structure of the rhythmical pieces. Kögel made liberal use of Anglo-Saxon material by way of illustration; and A 1 was subjected to special critical scrutiny and translated into German. A most readable chapter on the rhythmical exorcisms is furnished by S. A.

Brooke (*"History of Early English Literature"* [London, 1892]). The more prominent folkloristic features of the incantations are brought out in the course of a narrative in which a proto-historical background is imaginatively reconstructed by the editor. Most of the formulas discussed are cited partly or wholly in English translations. *"English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times"* (Oxford, 1904), by J. F. Payne, includes a treatise on superstitious medicine, notable as the first attempt at a classification of the Anglo-Saxon formulas. But Payne's seven divisions are hardly satisfactory: A 9, for example, being classed as "miscellaneous," while A 5 is called a "charm in the more ordinary sense," and DD 19 an "exorcism of disease." The book is nevertheless valuable for its information about folk-medicine, and for its interpretation of some of the obscure Old English names of plants and diseases that are mentioned in the conjurations. Equally unsatisfactory is the classification of the charms in Alois Brandl's brief critical survey of these pieces in H. Paul's *"Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie"* (ii, 955-957, 2d ed.), under the caption "*Heidnisch-rituelle Gattungen*" (Strassburg, 1901-08). The criticism deals almost exclusively with the verse spells, treats principally of language and metre, and groups the spells with respect to form, leaving content wholly out of account.

Among the translations of incantations not already referred to are several in F. B. Gummere's *"Germanic Origins"* (New York, 1892).

It will readily be recognized that a formal bibliography would be impracticable, owing to the diversity of the topics touched upon and the extensiveness of the literature concerned with those topics. The most important works used and consulted are mentioned either in the foregoing outline or in the Table of Abbreviations (p. 161), while other book and periodical references are given in the footnotes to the following pages or in the notes following the translations.

A large number of spells not really belonging to the earliest English period are popularly designated as "Old English." Instead of the latter phrase, the term "Anglo-Saxon" has therefore been used in the title, since its more specific meaning leaves less room for misconception. It is almost needless to add that wherever the words "Old English" occur in the following pages, they are synonymous with "Anglo-Saxon."

Since Cockayne's quaint but somewhat inaccurate and periphrastic renderings of the spells, no translation of any considerable body of the charms has been published. Five of the more important metrical incantations, however, have been put into excellent modern English by William D. Stevens in Cook and Tinker's *"Select Translations from Old English Poetry"* (Boston, 1903), pp. 164-171. Special attention, finally, deserves to be called to the German translations — already referred to — of O. B. Schlutter. Besides a few minor conjurations, he has given versions of only two important spells, A 2 and A 14; but in these he has com-

bined scholarly accuracy and literary charm in so unusual a manner as to establish a standard which later translators will find it no easy matter to attain.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPELLS

The one hundred and forty-six charms considered here include incantations properly so called, as well as numerous remedies depending for efficacy on the superstitious beliefs of the sufferers. Besides the sixty-two typical charms selected for the text, reference will be made to eighty-four others, which will be designated by double letters, AA, BB, etc., according to the group to which they belong.¹ Examination reveals distinct characteristics which severally appear in a certain number of the charms. These characteristics may be arranged under ten headings, as follows: (1) Narrative introduction; (2) Appeal to a superior spirit; (3) The writing or pronouncing of potent names or letters; (4) Methods of dealing with disease-demons; (5) The exorcist's boast of power; (6) Ceremonial directions to patient and exorcist; (7) The singing of incantations on parts of the body and on other objects; (8) Statement of time for performance of rites; (9) Sympathy and the association of ideas; (10) Minor superstitious practices.

(1) *Epic Narrative*. — Among the earliest Indo-European charms, the actual conjuration of the disease-spirit was preceded by a short narrative, in epic manner, of deeds performed by some god or hero. The Atharva-Veda Samhitā, which comprises a multitude of incantations, offers numerous examples of the epic introduction. Thus, a spell against worms begins, "The great mill-stone that is Indra's is the bruiser of every worm. With that I mash together the worms as khālva-grains with a mill-stone."²

A charm for deliverance from unseen pests has this introduction: "The sun goes up from the sky, burning down in front the demons; he, the Āditya, from the mountains, seen of all, slayer of the unseen."³

Similar narratives precede the two celebrated "Merseburger Zaubersprüche" from a manuscript of the tenth century.⁴ The first of these is a spell to secure the release of a fettered prisoner: —

"Eiris sázun idisi, sázun hera duoder.
suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lexidun,
suma clóbódun umbi cuonlouuidi:
insprinc haptbandun, invar vīgandum!"⁵

¹ See the grouping of the charms, pp. 123 ff.

² AV. ii, 31.

³ Ibid. vi, 52.

⁴ See *Denkm.* i, 15 ff.; a Heathen epic recital is also found in the *Strassburger Blutsagen* (see *Denkm.* i, 18).

⁵ "The Idisi once alighted, alighted yonder.
Some riveted fetters, others stemmed the war tide,
Others hammered upon the chains:
Slip from the shackles, escape from the foe!"

The *Idisi*¹ are represented as hovering around a battlefield, checking the fighting, and assisting favorite prisoners to escape. This constitutes the introductory narrative leading up to the actual formula in the last line.

The second Old High German *Zauberspruch*,² for dislocations, begins with an episode in the careers of Woden and Balder. Balder's horse suffers a sprain. Three goddesses unsuccessfully exercise their healing arts. At length, Woden,³ "*sô hê uuola conda*," effects the necessary cure. This story completes the epic portion of the charm; the remainder, beginning "*sôse bēnrenki*," is the incantatory formula, presumably used by Woden himself. From this and the other Old High German and Vedic examples cited before, we can readily understand the purpose of the epic passage. The exorcist, desiring to cure a disease or to invoke favors from the deity, recounts a mythological incident presenting circumstances analogous to the situation in which the patient is found.⁴ The procedure of the supernatural beings in the narrative is to serve as a precedent in the case with which the conjurer is dealing. Thus, in the second Vedic hymn above quoted, the action of the sun-god slaying demons is recited as a precedent to the desired destruction of unseen pests. The connection between the epic precedent and the desired result is plain enough in the Merseburg dislocation charm; in the bond spell preceding the latter, the story of goddesses hammering at chains is likewise appropriate to the end in view, — that of liberating fettered captives.

In the two Old High German and in many of the Hindu incantations, it will be observed that the recitation of the mythological precedent frequently concludes with a precise formula, supposedly uttered by the deity or hero who appears in the incident. The potency of a phrase having been proved by its use under supernatural auspices, the conjurer believes that a recital of the same formula will insure the attainment of his end. Thus in the Merseburg charm quoted above, the mythological story is brought to a close by the *sôse bēnrenki* passage, which, first used by Woden to heal the sprain of Balder's horse, is then repeated by human exorcists to heal all sprains whatsoever.⁵

Charms with narrative passages in heroic style occur in nearly all Indo-European languages: they may be found not only in Hindu and Germanic dialects, but in Celtic, Slavonic, and Greco-Italic tongues. In the

¹ Divine women, possibly Valkyries (see Grimm, I, 332). 400, 1395

² See *Denkm.* I, 16.

³ Chief source of magic power (see Grimm, I, 109 f.).

⁴ On the connection between magic and mythology in charms, see Chantepie, p. 128.

⁵ In numerous Christianized charms the talismanic words are supposed to have been used originally by Christ under circumstances stated in the introduction of the charm. For manifold instances, see O. Heilig, "Eine Auswahl Altdeutscher Segen" (*Altenmaier*, 25, 265; 26, 70; 27, 113).

Ugrian group of languages, the magic songs of the Finns present many interesting examples of spells containing the same characteristic. Nos. 10 b, 8 c, and 10 c, in Mr. Abercromby's collection,¹ are notable illustrations of charms beginning with narratives. Among the Anglo-Saxon charms, the epic narration, or its later substitute the parallel simile,² is found in Nos. A 1, A 2, A 15, A 16, A 21, A 22, B 4, D 10, AA 4, AA 10, AA 11, AA 13, DD 6, DD 14, DD 19, DD 20. In A 1, a charm against a sudden stitch, the exorcist begins with a short description of the "furious host,"³ which was fabled to rush over hill and dale. After relating a personal encounter with this mischievous band, he utters the disenchanting spell, —

"Ūt, lytel spere, gif hēr inne sȳ!"

Lines 13-14 indicate that these words were first used by that semi-divine smith, probably the legendary Wayland, on whom the conjurer relies for aid.

(2) *Appeal to a Superior Spirit.* — A second characteristic of the charms is the appeal for aid to some deity or superior power. In almost every one of the Atharva-Vedic spells, the help of Indra, Varuna, Agni, or some important Indo-Aryan divinity, is invoked.⁴ It is well known that a similar call upon friendly powers is frequently included in the ceremonial practices of magicians amongst all primitive races. Owing to the influence of the English Church, allusions to the original Pagan gods in Old English charms are exceedingly rare; for the ecclesiastical authorities austere replaced every mention of Pagan idols by the name of "God" or of some one of the patriarchs, saints, prophets, or disciples.⁵ For this reason, a large number of the Anglo-Saxon spells contain invocations to Christ;⁶ a great many direct their supplications to the Virgin Mary or to the four Evangelists;⁷ and others appeal variously to the Trinity, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to the twelve apostles. There are, however, six cases in which Pagan powers are appealed to. These are A 4, A 13, B 5, A 1, A 16, and B 4. In the first three, the earth spirit is invoked to aid the magician;⁸ in the next two, a mythological spirit or personage is appealed to;⁹ and in the last is found an indirect supplication to the power of Woden.¹⁰

(3) *The Use of Potent Names and Letters.* — The writing or pronouncing of strange names or letters was frequently resorted to by exorcists of many peoples in the course of their magic ceremonies. According to

¹ Aber. II.

² Grimm, II, 765 ff.

³ See p. 148.

⁴ For example, A 21, A 22, A 24, B 4, AA 13, etc.

⁵ For example, A 14, C 3, etc.

⁶ See A 4, line 4; A 13, lines 30, 52; B 5, line 13.

⁷ See A 1, line 13; A 16, line 6.

⁸ See B 4, line 32.

⁹ See p. 158.

¹⁰ AV. *passim*.

the "Doctrina de Magia,"¹ magicians use two classes of words. In the first class stand Abracadabra, Sator, Arebo, Tenet, Obera, Rotas, Hax, Pax, Max, Adimax; Jehova, Jesus, Halleluia, Hosanna, and so on. In the second class, "Nomen Dei et SS. Trinitatis, quod tamen invanum assumitur, contra acerrimum summi Legislatoris interdictum, Exod. 20." The use of mystifying names seems to have arisen from a belief, widespread among barbarous peoples, that names were intrinsically bound up with the objects they denoted. Among many tribes, a person dislikes to tell his name, because he believes that doing so will place him in the power of those who learn it.² Similarly, he dislikes to name the dead, because the power over departed spirits, which naming them would convey, is believed to arouse their anger.³ The extension of this aversion from the names of ancestral ghosts to those of the spirit world in general was a simple one; so that, among many peoples, including the Chinese and Hebrews, it was stringently forbidden to refer to the deity by name.⁴ The names of rulers and gods were thus invested by the popular mind with a certain mystery and intrinsic power, which made them peculiarly adaptable to the conjurers' uses. By inscribing certain names on sticks, on parchment, on animals' bones, on walls of houses, and even on parts of the human body, the thaumaturgist could impress his patients with the potency of his remedies, and achieve the result — then as now eminently important in medical practice — of influencing the patient's mind through suggestion.

It was but a slight step from the use of awe-inspiring names to the use of any words or symbols unknown and therefore mystifying to simple minds.⁵ These mysterious terms were often corruptions of phrases formerly quite intelligible. A juggler's rigmarole current in Elizabethan days was "Hocus pocus, tontus, talontrus, vade celeriter jubeo," of which Ady says that it was "a dark composure of wordes to blende the eyes of the beholders."⁶ The "hocus pocus" of the mountebank's formula was simply a degenerate form of the sacred "Hoc est corpus" chanted by the priest at mass.⁷

¹ Coarad of Wittenberg, 22.

² *Prim. of Soc.* i, 247.

³ Exemplified by the Hebrew legend of the witch at Endor. Samuel's ghost, raised by her, cries, "Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" (I Sam. xxviii, 15). Numerous examples also occur in the *Edda*, *passim*.

⁴ See J. Edkins, *Religion in China* (London, 1877), p. 71, and Exod. iii, 13-15. Among the Chinese and Japanese, as well as among other peoples, the use even of the ruler's name was interdicted.

⁵ For numerous instances of this mystification in Scythian, Roman, Slavic, etc., charms, see Bolton, 35 ff.

⁶ H. Ady, *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1659), p. 67.

⁷ On magical writings, see, further, Wuttke, § 243. On Runes as charm symbols we have the following from the *Edda*, which tells of the origin of the Runes: "The Sage read them, graved them, thought them out from the lees that had leaked out of Cleardripper's skull and out of Hodd-rofni's horn. He [Woden?] stood on the cliff, holding a sword, and

In the Old English charms, powerful names or magical formulas composed of senseless words are found in the following eight ways:—

(a) The names of foreign idols, rulers, and legendary personages are pronounced. Leleloth and Tiecon, Arabian gods, are mentioned in A 18; and Naborredus, a Babylonian monarch, is named in A 19. The fact that these names were unfamiliar to the ancient English rendered their use all the more weird, impressive, and doubtless efficacious.

(b) To replace the names of idols, the Church generally enforced the use of some one of the designations of God or of Christ, such as Deus, Emanuel, or Adonai.¹ According to P. L. Jacob,² the words "Emanuel" and "Adonai" were believed during the dark ages to have special potency with evil spirits.

(c) The names of saints, of apostles, and especially of the evangelists, were also permissible substitutes for Heathen appellations. In three charms (A 2, AA 11, and AA 14) the celebrated seven sleepers of Mount Celion are mentioned.³

(d) An incoherent jumbling of words, miscellaneously derived from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Gaelic, and other tongues, was relied upon to work miraculous cures. A 10, A 11, A 12, B 7, D 10, E 7, and E 9 are gibberish charms of this nature.⁴

(e) This gibberish was often arranged in rhythmical lines, with frequent assonant rhymes. Such jingles were in great favor even among later Greek physicians of a superstitious bent.⁵ Thus Alexander of Tralles gives the following charm as a tried remedy for gout:—

"Meu, treu, mor, phor,
Teux, za, zor,
Phe, lou, chrl,
Ge, ze, on."⁶

a helm on his head. Then spake Mim's Head . . . the first wise word, and told the staves true. They were engraven on the shield that stands before the shining God, on Allwaker's ear, and Allswift's hoof, and on the wheel that turns under Rungr's car, on Sleipni's teeth, and on the sledge-bands, on the Bear's paw, on Brage's tongue, on the Wolf's claw, and the Eagle's beak, on the bloody wings, and the Bridge's end; on the Midwife's palm, on the healing footprint, on men's amber and gold, on talismans, on wine and wort, on the Sibyl's seat; on Gugin's point and Grani's breast; on the Norn's nail and the Owl's beak. — All that were engraven were scraped off, and mixed with holy mead, and sent away on every side. The Anses have some, the Elves have some, some the wise Wanes have; mortal men have some. There are Beech-runes, Help-runes, Love-runes, and great Power-runes, for whomsoever will, to have for charms, pure and genuine, till the world falls in ruin. Profit by them if thou canst." — *Sigrdrifumál*, 14–20 (trans. from C. P. B. i, 29).

For the use which Anglo-Saxon warriors made of runes and other symbols inscribed on weapons, see *Sal. and Sat.* lines 317–37.

¹ See, for example, charms D 7, D 9, D 10, E 1.

² P. L. Jacob, *Curiosités des sciences occultes* (Paris, 1885), p. 77.

³ See p. 149.

⁴ See pp. 125 ff.

⁵ *Eng. Med.* 124.

⁶ Alexander Trallianus, xi, 1.

The Anglo-Saxon gibberish jingles are A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 9, A 19, B 6, and D 6.¹

(f) Mysterious letters and numbers are the magic symbols in spells D 7, D 8, D 9, D 11, D 12, and E 6. Alpha and Omega, potent letters among the Greek physicians,² are also employed in A 12, A 19, and D 8.

(g) One of the chief arts of the necromancer was foretelling the future by means of geometrical figures or of signs connected with the earth.³ This was known as geomancy. Geomantic predictions depended on the figures made by connecting points taken at random on the earth's surface, or on the disposition of the particles in a handful of seed, grains, or dust thrown haphazard.⁴ The square, the rectangle, the triangle, the circle, and the pentagram were regular figures widely used in geomancy, which was already a popular method of divination in the days of the Chaldeans.⁵ Among the English charms, we find only the circle in D 11, and a somewhat complicated arrangement of rectangles in D 12.

(h) As the power of the Church increased, prayers, paternosters psalms, hymns, crosses, and other Christian liturgical forms and marks ⁷ were employed to disguise grossly Heathen ceremonies. A 24, D 7, D 10, AA 1, BB 3, BB 14, BB 16, EE 5, EE 28, furnish examples of this.

(4) *Methods of dealing with Disease-Demons.* — In exorcism the attempt is made to expel mischief-working demons by flattery, threat, command, or even by nausea and physical violence, the patient's body serving as the spirit's proxy in the last two methods of treatment. In the bee charm, A 4, the evil spirits possessing the swarming insects are coaxingly addressed as *sigewif* ("victory-dames"), a title of honor belonging to the Valkyries. Whether experience had taught that a soft answer turneth away the wrath even of demons, or whether the belief that a demon might be conciliated by fawning had become deeply rooted, it is certain that the coaxing treatment was applied by sorcerers, and has indeed not been entirely abandoned by professional witches, thaumaturgists, and necromancers, even at the present day.⁶—

When the exorcist believed himself powerful enough to cope with the hostile spirit or conjurer, he abandoned flattery and resorted to threats.

¹ On jingle charms, see pp. 125 ff.

² Pliny, xxii, 16; see also p. 124, note 6.

³ The sign of the Macrocosm in *Faust*, Part I, line 429, was a geometrical figure "possessing the magic power to give Faust a vision of the 'grand harmony.'" See Goethe, *Faust*, Pt. I, ed. Calvin Thomas (Boston, 1901), p. 257, note to line 429. Cf. the mystical signification of lines, circles, triangles, etc., in F. Hartmann, *Mysterien, Symbole, und magische Kräfte* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 69 f.

⁴ Cf. the account of geomancy in *The Complete Works of Chaucer*, ed. by W. W. Skeat (6 vols., Oxford, 1894); note to A 2045, *Knights Tale*. Skeat says that geomantic figures are formed from dots jotted down hurriedly on paper.

⁵ See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* (4 vols., Paris, 1879), II, 149.

⁶ See F. L. S. *passim*; and Aber. I, 349.

Thus in the cattle charm A 16 the good magician openly warns the evil wizard to beware, and states that he will combat the latter's "powers, his might, his influence, and his witchcraft." Again, in A 23, the Devil's departure is demanded under threat of pursuit by Christ; and in DD 19 we read, "Fevers, depart: 714,000 angels will pursue you."¹

Where threats and flattery did not avail, physical violence was believed to be successful. The body possessed by the evil spirit was vigorously scourged for half an hour, pierced with sharp instruments,² or similarly rendered uncomfortable for ghostly habitation. This method of procedure is followed in E 2, a charm for an elf-shot horse; that is, a horse ill from the effects of shots supposedly sent by elves. Part of the remedy consists in pricking a hole in the horse's left ear and in striking it on the back with a cudgel. In E 3 we learn a remedy for lunacy, — a disease which, more than any other, presupposed demoniac possession. The demented one will be cured, runs this leechdom, if he be soundly thrashed with a stout whip of porpoise-skin. In E 4, evil spirits are driven out of swine by reeking the animals with the smoke of burning herbs. Certain fumes, it was believed, were obnoxious to the sensitive fiend, and would surely induce his flight. In like manner the smoke from burning smearwort is declared in E 5 to be efficacious against demoniacal possession. If smoking and whipping failed, the resourceful exorcist had in his bag still other devices to compel the evacuation of mischievous sprites. He could concoct revolting or unpalatable mixtures, which were administered to the luckless patient, and were calculated to dislodge the most insensible of demons. Animal excrements were favorite ingredients in these compounds. Thus, in E 11, a man possessed by a dwarf³ is directed to eat a cake of which the chief ingredient is white hound's dung; in EE 19, hound's vomit is recommended against dropsy; and in A 5, a salve composed of saliva and cow's excrement is prescribed for internal difficulties.

Sometimes the conjurer's power is such that a mere order to depart suffices to expel the unwelcome visitor. Exorcism by command was not uncommon among the Jews. Thus we read in the New Testament, — "And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil. . . . And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And . . . he came out of him."⁴

In a Vedic spell against fever, the necromancer commands, "O fever, together with thy brother, the *batāsa*, and thy sister, the cough, together with thy cousin, the scab, go to yon foreign people."⁵

¹ Cf. Christ "rebuking" the fever (Luke iv, 39).

² For laws against such treatment, see Nos. 25 and 26, p. 142.

³ *Dweorg on weg is donne*, literally, "to remove or expel a dwarf;" that is, probably to cure convulsions.

⁴ Luke iv, 33 and 35.

⁵ AV. v, 23, verse 12.

A similar command is given in A 23 to the Devil, alleged cause of a strange swelling. Frequently the disease-demon is bidden to repair to a definite place. Finnish sorcerers send the malevolent spirit into the middle of the sea, to fens and swamps, to boiling whirlpools, to copper hills, and to desert wastes.¹ The Anglo-Saxon conjurer orders the witches who provoke a sudden stitch to fly to a mountain,² while a demon responsible for a malignant ulcer is dispatched "to the nearest hill."³

(5) *The Exorcist's Boast of Power.* — In many Indo-European spells the exorcist begins with an account of his own prowess and a recital of his achievements. No doubt this is intended to intimidate the spook or to impress the victim. In A 1 the exorcist tells how he can successfully withstand the attacks of spear-hurling kobolds, and how his power will enable him to save his patient. In A 16 the magician called in to restore lost cattle announces his ability to find the animals, to guard them from harm while still astray, and to cope with the spectre or wizard responsible for the theft. "All grasses may spring up with herbs, the sea vanish away, all the salt water, when I blow this venom from thee," says the exorcist in B 4,⁴ and in B 5 he confidently proclaims the infallibility of his remedy.⁵

(6) *Ceremonial Directions to Patient and Exorcist.* — Many of the incantations and charm remedies outline a definite course of action for the patient or for the exorcist. In A 1 the sufferer is directed to seek shelter under linden-trees when attacked by malicious spirits. In E 1, pregnant women who cannot bring the foetus to maturity are instructed to perform four rather complicated ceremonies. The exorcist who wishes to acquire proficiency in curing abdominal pains must catch a dung-beetle and its excrement in both hands, wave the creature vehemently, and throw it away backwards without looking.⁶ The accurate fulfilment of these instructions endows the sorcerer with healing-powers for a twelvemonth. As the Church began to exercise its authority in thaumaturgic matters, more numerous and more elaborate ceremonials of a Christian character were added to the charms. Such lengthy and involved directions as those specified in BB 6, a spell for the "dry disease,"⁷ illustrate the extreme to which charm ritual was finally carried. It is interesting to note the main observances which this charm prescribes. The sufferer must dig around a sorrel-plant, sing three paternosters, pull out the plant, sing "sed libera nos a malo," take five slices of the herb and pound them with seven peppercorns, sing the psalm "Miserere mei, Deus," twelve times, likewise the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and another paternoster; then, at daybreak, add wine to the pre-

¹ Aber. 10 a, 17 a, d-f, m-p, r-u, w.

² See charm A 1.

³ See lines 60-62.

⁴ See charm C 2.

⁵ Charm A 3.

⁶ See lines 10-15.

⁷ Inflammation.

paration. Again, he must stand toward the east in the middle of the morning, make the sign of the cross, turn himself around, following the course of the sun from east to south and west, then drink the much-hallowed potion. The originator of this comprehensive ceremony was obviously an early advocate of strenuosity; for he concludes with the injunction, "After drinking, let him [the patient] go and stand for a time, before he seek rest."

Like BB 6, charms A 13, C 3, C 4, D 1, D 2, E 2, BB 12, and CC 2 contain circumstantial rehearsals of prescribed observances.

With the sixth characteristic we may include the naming of the patient, a practice as world-wide as conjuration itself. In many Greek, Roman, Hindu, and Semitic charms, the utterance of the patient's name (not to speak of the name of the patient's father) was regarded as essential to the success of the incantation.¹ Instances of this custom occur only six times in the Anglo-Saxon charms. This infrequency may be explained on the assumption that the naming of the patient was understood. The six instances occur in A 10, A 24, AA 11, CC 2, DD 19, and DD 20. In A 10 the necromancer is directed to "name the man and his father," while only the patient's name is to be mentioned in the remaining spells. Evil spirits as well as their victims are designated in classical and Oriental magic by proper names. Not so in the Anglo-Saxon charms, where disease-demons, repeatedly referred to as elves, dwarfs, night visitors, and so on, are never individually designated. If the word *diabolus* can be regarded as a specific title for the Devil, a few Christian spells may be said to form an exception to this statement.

(7) *The Singing of Incantations on Parts of the Body and on other Objects.* — A peculiar feature of the English incantations is the frequent injunction that they be sung or written on certain parts of the body. The left side appears to have been preferred to the right. Charms A 2, A 5,² A 11, and B 5 are to be chanted into the left ear; charm D 9, upon the left breast; while D 12 requires a magic writing to be placed in the left shoe, and DD 18 an amulet on the left thigh. The right side of the body is mentioned four times, — in charms A 2, A 5,³ B 4, and DD 14, which are all to be sung into the right ear. B 4 is also to be sung into a man's mouth; A 11, on his head; A 23, on his little finger; and A 5, A 20, B 4, and B 5, on the wound or seat of pain. In E 6 a writing is to be put on the arm, in E 7 on the nose. Very frequent is the direction to place crosses on head, tongue, breast, limbs, and other parts of the body.⁴ Again, A 15 directs the spell to be sung on a horse's fetters and bridle, on his footprints, and on the four sides of a house. If disease be contracted

¹ See Schrader, 573; Pliny, xxii, cap. 16; *Eng. Med.* 120; and F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, tr. by W. R. C. (London, 1877).

² In the left ear of a female sufferer.

³ In the right ear of a male sufferer.

⁴ See, for example, E 8, BB 14, EE 5, EE 28.

indoors, charm AA 13 is to be sung over water; if outdoors, the same charm must be recited over butter.

(8) *Statement of Time for Performance of Rites.* — When the observances accompanying an incantation were of special importance, the time at which they were to be performed was recorded. Night seems to have been considered the most favorable season for these, as for most other essays in the supernatural arts: for, of the ten instances in which the time of ceremony is stated in the charms, nine prescribe the hours of darkness. The "Kāuṣika-Sūtra" of the "Atharva-Veda," commenting on a spell to heal serious wounds,¹ declares the proper time for charm-recital to be "when the stars are disappearing;"² that is, just before daybreak. Practically the same time is set four times in the English charms. In A 13, an important rite is to be observed "at night before it dawns;" and in BB 6, BB 7, and BB 9, the important step is to be taken "when the night and day are divided," that is, just before dawn. In B 2, Thursday³ eve is the time set; in C 1, "after sunset;" in AA 13, "at night before going to bed;" in BB 12, "when the moon is seventeen nights old, after sunset, before moonrise;" in DD 3, "when the moon is on the wane in April or October;" and in EE 7, "every month when the moon is five, fifteen, and twenty nights old." In only two instances is daytime assigned for spell ceremonial. In A 13, sods are to be restored to their original places "ere the setting of the sun;" while in BB 6, various rites are fixed "for the middle of the morning."

(9) *Sympathy and Association of Ideas.* — The efficacy of many of the charms depends upon a real or supposed association of ideas between the rite performed or spell recited, on the one hand, and the object sought for, on the other. This feature will be better understood by regarding an illustration from modern superstition. Lancashire country folk believe that warts can be cured by stealing a piece of butcher's meat and rubbing the warts with it. The meat must then be buried in a secluded spot; as it decays, the warts disappear.⁴ The object used in the ceremonial need have no such direct connection, however, with the afflicted body. Merely a representation of the body will serve. Thus among the Chippewas a sorcerer transfers a disease by making a wooden image of his patient's enemy, and piercing it to the heart.⁵ The same custom had its vogue in European countries, and the recorded survivals of it are numerous.⁶ Hardy, for instance, makes one of his Wessex characters jab

¹ AV. iv, 12.

² *Kauc.* 28, 5. Cf. Fauberht of York: "Nolite exercere quando obscuranteor" (cited Brand, Pt. II, p. 55).

³ Thursday, Thunar's day, was the lucky day, *par excellence*, among the Germans (see Grimm, ii, 953).

⁴ *Lan. Lore*, 78.

⁵ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi* (London, 1855).

⁶ See *F. L. S. passim*; and cf. D. G. Rossetti, *Ballad of Sister Helen*.

needles into a wax figure representing an enemy,¹ much in the manner approved by Voodoo practitioners in the southern United States. Again, the mention of something which often bears only a remote relation to the subject of the charm is considered sufficient to achieve the sorcerer's purpose. In two of the charms for stolen cattle, A 21 and A 22, this formula occurs: "The cross of Christ was hidden and has been found." The associated idea is, "so may these lost cattle be found."

In another cattle spell, A 15, the exorcist says, "The Jews did the worst of deeds to Christ; they tried to conceal what they could not conceal." Here the sympathetic idea is, "so may the thief be unable to conceal the stolen cattle." This sympathy between the simile and the effect desired is found particularly in Christian spells. Blood and fire are to stand as still as Christ hung on the cross,² as the Jordan stood at the baptism,³ as mankind will stand at the Judgment Day.⁴ The fire is to keep in its sparks as Mary kept her maidenhood,⁵ blood is to stop flowing as Christ's blood stopped when Longinus pierced His side,⁶ the worm is to feel such pain as Peter felt when he saw the Lord suffering,⁷ the hoof to break as little as ever God broke His word,⁸ the babe to leave the womb of the parturient woman as Lazarus left the dead when Christ commanded,⁹ the theft to become as well known as Bethlehem was renowned, and the thieves to be punished as the Jews were punished.¹⁰

These similes, with parallel narratives drawn from the Bible, are found in the Christianized charms. In the more decidedly Heathen spells, similes are likewise present, but the parallels are taken from natural phenomena. Thus in A 16, line 16, we read, "May he be destroyed as fire destroys wood," etc.; and similar comparisons appear in A 3 and in B 5, line 13.

(10) *Minor Superstitious Practices.*—Heathen reminiscences and superstitious directions abound in the Old English charms. Only the most striking instances of these will be pointed out here.¹¹ Widely prevalent among Germanic peoples was a belief in the virtues and sanctity of running water.¹² Each brook, river, and stream was supposedly haunted by a spirit, who might be helpful or harmful, and must be flattered and propitiated by sacrificial offerings. The water-sprites and water-fairies of English folk-lore were spirits of this kind, and such was

¹ *The Return of the Native.*

² *Ibid.* iii, 494.

³ *Ibid.* iii, 500.

⁴ Grimm, iii, 501.

⁵ Charm DD 14.

⁶ Grimm, iii, 503.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 501.

⁸ Charm AA 10.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii, 502.

¹⁰ See Charm A 15; and cf. Grimm, iii, 505. Other instances of association of ideas can be found in C 5, EE 18, and EE 30. See also AV. 59, 73, 126.

¹¹ Less important ones will be commented on in the notes to the several charms.

¹² See Gum. 394; Grimm, i, 484 ff.; and Burchard von Worms, i, 94, *interrogationes*, 40-54. But see Black, 104, for Chinese objections to running water.

the water-elf who inflicted the malady for which charm B 5 is the magician's cure. Most commonly, water-spirits were believed to be benignly inclined rather than the contrary, so that the streams and torrents over which they ruled came to be regarded as possessing fabulous medicinal properties.¹ Chrysostom, preaching an Epiphany sermon at Antioch in A. D. 387, said that people at that festival drew running water at midnight and kept it for thaumaturgic purposes. After the lapse of a whole year it was still fresh and uncorrupted.² A German superstition of great antiquity requires running water to be drawn before sunrise, downstream and silently; this water remains fresh, restores youth, heals eruptions, and makes young cattle strong.³ The decrees of numerous church councils,⁴ the testimony of historians,⁵ the laws of the Anglo-Saxons and of the Scandinavians, and passages from the "Poenitentiale,"⁶ all prove that well and water worship was a deeply-rooted institution among the Teutonic peoples, and enable us to understand why running water plays such an important part in Germanic folk-lore. In charms A 11, C 1, D 3, E 8, E 13, BB 3, and CC 2, the procurement or use of running water is essential to a successful treatment of the several ailments.⁷

The credulous patient is enjoined to practise still other superstitious rites. According to instructions in B 1, he must himself "be clean," while in BB 3 he must secure the assistance of an "immaculate" person. In B 3, C 1, BB 3, and CC 2, all observances must be performed in silence. To cure internal difficulties, BB 10 demands that celandine-root be taken out of the ground "with the two hands turned upwards." For flux of blood, BB 12 prescribes that mulberries be plucked with "the thumb and the ring-finger of the left hand." BB 5 directs the medicinal herb to be taken "with averted head;" while in BB 7 and BB 9 the patient is told to walk three times round the herbs before uprooting them. A 12, A 23, and B 5 furnish instances of the well-known wonder-working method of expelling a disease-fiend by drawing a magic line around the scene of his activities. The stroke made around the victim in A 12, the line around the sore in A 23, the "healing wreaths wreathed round wounds" in B 5, and the circle scored with a sword round the herbs in B 3, are supposed to render the circumscribed space immune from further assaults of the mischievous demon. Pouring wax on the hoof-tracks of stolen cattle, and lighting candles, are two remedies prescribed

¹ Perhaps the mineral properties of certain of the so-called healing springs (*Heilbrunnen*) strengthened this belief.

² *Opera*, tom. ii, 369 (ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1818); also cf. Gum. 390; and see note to B 5, line 12.

³ Jul. Schmidt, *Reichenfels* (Cassel, 1835), p. 121.

⁴ For example, *Concil. Turon.* ii, anno 566, can. 22.

⁵ Gregory of Tours, ii, 10.

⁶ See laws Nos. 5 and 10-14 inclusive, quoted p. 141.

⁷ For further Anglo-Saxon uses of running water, see Fischer, 39.

in A 15. These are additional instances of sorcery effected by association of ideas. The wax dipped on the footprints which the animals have long left behind them is believed to glue their hoofs to the ground wherever they may be; while the lighted candles symbolize the miraculous exposure, to the owner, of the whereabouts of cattle and thieves.

Saliva has always had a thaumaturgic if not a therapeutic value in folk-medicine. Spitting on the painful spot will prove helpful, according to charm A 20.¹ In C 1, the healer is commanded to expectorate three times while treating a case of leprosy; and spitting is part of the ceremonial in other charms, such as E 1. Color is also a feature of the magic rituals. Butter churned from a cow of one color, "red or white and without spots," forms part of the treatment in B 7 and BB 4. A cow of one color must likewise furnish the milk which is to be drunk by women suffering from the "loathsome late birth,"² while horn from a tawny ox is prescribed in E 2.

The numbers 3 and 9 occur very much more frequently than any other numbers in the charms. 3³ occurs eighteen times; 9, sixteen times. Thus, certain rites are to be performed three times in C 1 and C 3, and on three successive days in A 2, A 8, and E 14. Chants are to be sung three times in AA 10 and EE 10. Three stones, three nails, three cups, three leek-leaves, three herbs, and three incisions are mentioned in D 4, E 2, E 13, AA 14, BB 1, and CC 2 respectively. Finally, the conjurer who employs charm A 16 agrees to restore the stolen cattle within three nights. The number 9 is put to similar uses. Certain incantations are to be sung nine times over a soft-boiled egg in A 8; over a barley loaf, B 6; over butter, B 7. Nine masses, nine paternosters, and nine "Miserere mei," are to be sung in the course of many of the Christian charms. Certain things are to be done for nine mornings, E 14; and nine days, E 13. Again, nine herbs and nine twigs are mentioned in B 1, nine wafers in AA 15; while to cure lunacy, the directions in B 2 are, that an herb must be plucked when the moon is nine nights old.

Strangely enough, the number 7, so prominent in Oriental and in modern superstition and mysticism,⁴ occurs only twice; namely, in A 2 and in EE 1. 33, a favorite charm number in Indo-European folk-lore, is found twice in B 4.⁵ The only other number which receives frequent mention is 12, which is found six times.

Not the least curious of these superstitious rites is the recipe in a charm against snake-bite. "Against snake-bite," run the directions, "if the man procure and eat rind taken out-of Paradise, no poison will harm him."⁶ The scribe who copied the remedy, naively added, "þæt bio wære tor begete," that such rind was hard to get.

¹ Cf. Crombie, p. 249.

² See E 1.

³ Not counting IIII = *thruwa*.

⁴ See M. D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore* (2 vols., New York, 1889), I, 256 ff.

⁵ See note to B 4, line 4.

⁶ See E 9.

The worship of the dead, once prevalent among Germanic tribes,¹ has left its traces in charms E 1 and EE 17. It has already been noted that primitive peoples very generally imagined that the dead influenced the destinies of the living.² The dead were accordingly worshipped by those who wished their aid, and parts of corpses were highly valued as amulets and periapts. Numerous Anglo-Saxon laws against bewitching by means of the dead attest the vogue which the practice enjoyed among our ancestors. The canons of Edgar, and the penitentials of Egbert,³ expressly forbid sacrilege at the grave, and witchcraft by means of the dead.⁴ Our charms are instances in which these laws were violated. Charm E 1 contains the following directions: "The woman who cannot bring the foetus to maturity must go to the sepulcher of a dead man and step thrice over the sepulcher."

EE 17 is a spell against a "boring worm." The remedy consists in burning a human skull to ashes, and applying the powder externally. An identical custom prevailed among many primitive tribes, and survived among more civilized peoples even to the nineteenth century.⁵ Until recently the powder of a man's burnt bones was highly esteemed in Scotland as a cure for epilepsy.⁶ As late as 1865, a collier's wife is said to have applied to a sexton for "ever so small a portion of human skull for the purpose of grating it similar to ginger." The powder was to be added to a mixture to be administered to a girl suffering from fits.⁷

Before dismissing this subject, it may be remarked that almost all the superstitious rites treated in this chapter have their modern survivals or analogues.⁸

CLASSIFICATION OF CHARMS

Anglo-Saxon charms may be divided into five groups, as follows:—

- A. Exorcisms of diseases or disease-spirits.
- B. Herbal charms.
- C. Charms for transferring disease.
- D. Amulet charms.
- E. Charm remedies.

¹ See Mogk in *Grdr.* i, 932.

² Modern spiritualism is obviously an idealized survival of this belief.

³ See laws, p. 140.

⁴ That these practices outlasted legal prosecution is attested by a law, passed in the English Parliament as late as 1604, bestowing the death penalty on any one who exhumed a corpse or any part of it to be used in "witchcraft, sorcerie, charme or enchantment" (see *Statutes of England*, iv, pt. 2, 1028).

⁵ For instances see Waitz, iii, 388; and A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1853), p. 498.

⁶ Black, 96.

⁷ *Analecta Scotica*, ed. J. Maidment (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1834-37), ii, 54. Cf. the popular medicinal uses of mummy; note, for example, the handkerchief dyed in mummy (Shakespeare, *Othello*, iii, 4, 74).

⁸ See instances in *F. L. S.*

A. *Exorcisms*. — In the first group belong charms A 1-24 of the text. The one characteristic common to the members of this group is a well-defined incantatory formula, the chanting of which is to produce curative or beneficial results. These charms may be arranged in four subdivisions:—

I. Charms A 1-4. — These are incantations distinctly reminiscent of Heathendom. The principal features of these charms are: (a) they are literary compositions in poetic style; (b) they have a definite form, charms A 1 and A 2 even possessing an elaborate structure;¹ (c) they contain numerous allusions to Heathen beliefs, customs, and practices; (d) the formula is in the vernacular.

II. Charms A 5-12 (Gibberish Charms). — These conjurations, unlike the preceding ones, are crude, formless pieces, destitute of literary merit. Their distinguishing feature is a meaningless formula composed of a jumble of more or less obscure words. Occasionally a Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Gaelic, or Anglo-Saxon word appears, and a few words seem to have had their origin in one or other of these languages; but the derivation of a majority of the words is not ascertainable.

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to outline the possible origin of gibberish charms.² Whether the Anglo-Saxon charms of this type arose independently in Britain, or were in part borrowed by Saxon exorcists from classical sources, cannot be conclusively determined. Gibberish incantations, similar in form to some of the English rigmæles, certainly existed among the Romans, Greeks, and Phœnicians, and are interspersed among recipes in classical books of medicine to which Anglo-Saxon leeches had access.³ But since gibberish spells have been found among peoples widely different in race,⁴ it may fairly be argued that English spells arose among the English themselves, or at least among their Germanic ancestors.⁵ Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that acquaintance with classical doggerel charms caused exorcists to introduce into the native spells modifications of vocabulary and metre, which led to a general resemblance between English and Græco-Roman gibberish formulas.⁶

(a) *Jingle Charms*. — Charms A 5-9 exhibit such differences from the remaining gibberish spells as to warrant a separate subdivision. They are marked by a rhythmic but loose and irregular measure, which

¹ See the explanatory notes on these charms.

² See p. 113.

³ See Bolton, 39 ff.; *Eng. Med.* 119 ff.

⁴ Bolton, 63 ff., for instance, cites spells in Penobscot, Japanese, Mahratti, Turkish, Armenian, etc., which strongly resemble our gibberish charms.

⁵ See "Wandering Words," by T. W. Sandrey, in *The Cornishman*, 1880.

⁶ The mediæval exorcist drew powerful spells from the Hebrew Cabala, with its mystic letters and artificial words. Thus the word *Agle* — formed from the initials of the Hebrew sentence "Thou art a mighty God forever" — was widely used (see Wuttke, p. 264). It is possible that the runes of the early charms were replaced by Cabalistic letters.

makes the name "jingle charm" appropriate. In this respect, and in some others which remain to be mentioned, they are strikingly like the counting-out rhymes of children.¹ The question naturally arises whether there is any relationship between the two forms, and whether the doggerels used by children can possibly be survivals of magic formulas similar to our jingle charms. An affirmative answer can be supported by arguments which, though far from conclusive, deserve consideration.

One of the best known among the modern counting-out rhymes is the following:—

"Eena meena mona my,
Barcelona bona stry;
Hara wara, frumma frack,
Hallico ballico,
Wee, wo, wy, wack."

Compare this with jingle charm A 6:—

"Luben luben niga
Efð efð niga
Fel ceid fel,
Delf cumer fel
Orcgael ceufor dard,
Giug farig fðig
Delou deluph."

We can observe the following resemblances between the two pieces: (1) similar rhythm; (2) frequent alliteration; (3) occasional rhyme; (4) repetition of syllables with slight vowel or consonant changes; (5) preponderance of polysyllabic words (mainly dissyllabic); (6) the collocation of meaningless words.

Now, the researches of Tylor, Bolton, Newell, and Simrock have established that the *Eena meena mo* doggerel, and others like it, have long existed, with variations, in many Germanic countries.² This fact points to the possibility of a common Germanic origin for the rhymes, — an origin which must be set at a remote pre-Christian period. It may be supposed that when the Church first made its influence felt, the old incantations, deprived of their sacred character, may have been more freely bandied about than hitherto. The mystifying phrases of the formulas, the uncouth names of foreign deities, the odd-sounding Greek and Latin jargon,³ might easily appeal to the verbal memories of children, and thus the jingles would gain currency in games. In the oral transmission from one generation of boys and girls to another, names and sentences would be considerably distorted, so that what may once

¹ See Bolton, 47; also *Games and Songs*, 194 ff.

² P. C. I, 67 ff., 78 ff.; *Games and Songs*, 195; Bolton, 45 ff.; K. J. Simrock, *Das deutsche Kinderbuch alterthümlicher Reime, Lieder . . . und Scherze für Kinder* (Frankfurt a. M., 1857).

³ On mysterious words and phrases in spells, see pp. 114 ff.

have been at least partially intelligible would become entirely obscure. This gradual obscuration may be observed in the counting-out doggerel,¹ —

"One-erzoll, two-erzoll, zickersoll, zan," etc.,

which is most likely a corruption one or two stages removed from the original, —

"One is all, two is all, six is all, seven."

When the doggerel has undergone half a dozen further changes, its loss of identity with the primal form will be complete. The same process, then, which brought about the change just described, which led an inn bearing the legend "God encompasseth us"² to become known as the "Goat and Compasses," and which caused the British sailor on the "Bellerophon" to rechristen his vessel the "Billy Ruffian," might have helped to transmogrify Heathen spells into modern counting-out rhymes.³ The permitted survival both of the jingle spells and of the children's rhymes is explicable enough: for whether the original theurgic phraseology was replaced by outright gibberish, as in the spells, or by harmless lingo, as in the rhymes, the obtrusive Heathenism of the Anglo-Saxon compositions would alike have disappeared, so that the Church could afford to wink at the persisting forms.⁴

A spirited, narrative introduction, it will be remembered, is a characteristic of many of the Anglo-Saxon charms.⁵ Just such a beginning marks a Bulgarian counting-out rhyme still used in Sophia, and not yet grown completely unintelligible. Bolton gives the jingle as follows: ⁶ —

"Skătcha, zhà bā,
Ot plet, do plet,
Ta ví ka, ta kŭ ka,
Zbí raite syá, voiní tze"⁷ . . .

Many English and German children's rhymes present this same pseudo-epic feature. Numerous examples may be gleaned by the reader

¹ Even in the hands of the leech-sorcerers, the jingles suffered corruption in transmission. See, for example, notes to B 6.

² A. Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 67.

³ See Charles G. Leland's interesting account tracing the rhyme, "One-ery, two-ery, ick-ery Ann," etc., to an old gypsy magic spell; also cf. J. B. Ker, *Essay on the Archaeology of our Popular Phrases and Nursery Rhymes* (2 vols., Andover, 1840), I, 308.

⁴ A parallel to the process by which the ancient incantations became jingles for casting lots, and then counting-out rhymes, is found in the series of changes by which the old Pagan sacrifices were first transformed to folk-festivals which were, in turn, preserved in children's games (see Newell's Introduction to *Games and Songs*).

⁵ See p. 110.

⁶ See p. 65.

⁷ The translation shows the spirited nature of the first four lines: —

"A frog is jumping
From fence to fence,
It is calling, — it is screaming:
Muste yourselves, soldiers!"

from the large collection of rhymes appended to Bolton's volume.¹ One quotation here will suffice:—

"Hinty minty cuty corn,
Apple seed and apple thorn.
Wire, brier, limber lock,
Three geese in a flock.
One flew east and one flew west,
One flew over the cuckoo's nest." ² . . .

The analogies to which attention has been called are by no means regarded as establishing a relationship between jingle charms and counting-out rhymes; they are regarded simply as presumptive evidence of such relationship. Assuming the connection between the two forms to exist, and bearing in mind the main purpose of the counting-out rhymes, it seems plausible to infer that those spells in particular which magicians employed when casting lots, have survived in modern doggerels. Such a spell, charm A 9 may well have been, since, with its numerical formula, —

"Nine were Notthe's sisters,
And the nine became eight,
And the eight seven,
And the seven six," —

down to zero, — it was singularly appropriate to the ceremony of casting lots; and it will readily be admitted, that, without a single change, this Anglo-Saxon charm could be used by modern English children for counting out.

(b) Charms A 10-12. — These differ from the jingle charms in rhythm and in verbal content. The rhythm is either missing or much less obvious; and the formula consists, not of meaningless words strung together, but of unintelligible collocations of liturgical Latin, with words of foreign origin mixed with native words. As a rule, the ceremonies prescribed are of Heathen ancestry, while the formulas show church influence.

III. Charms A 13-20 (Charms showing marked Christian Influence). — In these spells, Heathen beliefs and practices are manifested under a thin veneer of Christian phrasing. Charms A 13-16 have poetic formulas which possess the four features that distinguish charms A 1-4. They are not classed with the latter, however, because, unlike them, they have been Christianized in ways to be described.³ For the same reason, charm A 17, which is really a jingle charm, and charms A 18-20, which are essentially gibberish charms, are not grouped with charms A 5-12.

IV. Charms A 21-24 (Christian Exorcisms). — Evidences of Heathen-

¹ Pages 63-121.

² It will be noted that there is an inversion of the usual order, the gibberish in this case preceding the narrative portion.

³ See pp. 147 ff.

ism are either absent from these spells or are completely obscured by Christian phraseology and religious ceremonial prescription. A 24 is an excellent specimen of the completely religious character acquired by the ancient Heathen conjurations in the hands of exorcists appointed by the Church.

B. *Herbal Charms.* — In many cases the formula was not applied to the disease, or the spirit which caused the disease, but to the herbs with which the patient was treated. The charms in the B division contain incantations chanted over herbs and other materials employed as medicines or amulets.

B 1, B 2, and B 3 contain formulas and prescribe ceremonies to be used while culling talismanic or medicinal herbs. The formulas in B 4 and B 5 are intended for recital over herbs already gathered, just before working them into healing salves. These two formulas are poetic Heathen incantations with all the features that mark charms A 1-4. B 6 is a jingle charm the singing of which over a barley loaf is to endow the loaf with healing virtues. The instructions in B 7 direct the recital of a gibberish formula, a paternoster, and a litany, over butter before eating.

All the B charms, with the exception of B 3, contain features which link them closely to Heathendom. B 3, like A 24, illustrates the Christian ritualistic character which the charms assumed in the hands of ecclesiastics. The charm is for elf-disease, and the directions are very elaborate. The exorcist must begin his work on a Thursday evening at sunset. He must find the herb helenium, sing the Benedicite, Paternoster, and Litany over it, then stick his knife into the root. Next evening he must go to church and cross himself prior to returning, in perfect silence, to the marked herb. Then, while chanting another Benedicite, Paternoster, and Litany, he must delve up the herb, carry it as quickly as possible to the church, and lay it under the altar. Next morning it must be made into a drink spiced with lichen from a crucifix; and after boiling the mixture in milk and pouring holy water upon it, the Paternoster, Credo, and "Gloria in excelsis Deo,"¹ must be sung over it. The ritual is completed by making three crosses on different sides of the concoction, which the sufferer may then, at length, imbibe.

The herbal charms are arranged on the following plan: —

1. Directions for gathering the herb. Enumeration and description of objects to be employed as medicaments.

2. The actual formula.

Heathen and vernacular: B 1, B 2, B 4, B 5.

Christian liturgical: B 3, B 7.

Gibberish: B 6, B 7.

3. Additional directions for the use of herbal brews and other concoctions after the recital of the formula.

¹ Luke II, 14.

C. *Transfential Charms*. — Charms for transferring disease include those ceremonies and formulas employed in an attempt to transfer disease from a patient to some other living creature or to an inanimate object. Captive birds, brought into immediate contact with a sufferer, were released to carry the disease back into the desert, which was regarded as a permanent haunt of sprites and hobgoblins.¹ This practice was well established in biblical times,² and seems to have arisen from the notion that evil spirits could be bribed with sacrifices to return to their native abiding-places.³ The essential trait of this procedure is the bringing of the creature or object to be infected into immediate contact with the sufferer.⁴ At the expiration of a certain time, the thing which had received the disease was removed and variously disposed of.

Diseases were most frequently transferred to animals and trees, less often to lifeless objects.⁵ In the case of transference to animals, perhaps the simplest procedure is that mentioned by Pettigrew: the patient is to sit on an ass, with his face to the tail; the pain will then be transmitted to the ass.⁶ According to the same author, ague is cured in some rural Irish districts by giving a dog a cake made of barley-meal and the sufferer's urine. In a case cited, the dog had a shaking-fit, and the patient was cured.⁷ It is interesting to note that Grimm believed the names "hen's eye," "magpie's eye," and "crow's eye," which Germans give to a corn,⁸ to imply a belief in the possibility of transmitting such excrescences to the creatures named;⁹ but the appearance of corns may more plausibly be supposed to have given rise to the metaphoric names.

In the Anglo-Saxon charms for transferring disease, C 2 provides for the transfer of abdominal pains to a beetle. The prescribed ritual of catching a beetle, waving it vigorously, and hurling it away while speaking talismanic words, must be performed, not by the patient, but by the exorcist, who, curiously enough, for twelve months thereafter has power to transfer the same illness from man to beetle by merely grasping the seat of the pain.

Charming diseases into trees was an ancient Heathen practice which has lingered until modern times. The common procedure in this mode of transfer was to make children walk or creep through a gap in a tree.

¹ See Grimm, II, 873 ff.

² Lev. xiv, 7, 42.

³ See Sayce, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, 1902, p. 149; and cf. Grendel's refusal to be bribed (*Beowulf*, lines 175 ff.).

⁴ Marcellus distinguished between six kinds of transference which he elaborately named (a) *inseminatione*, (b) *implantatione*, (c) *impositione*, (d) *irritatione*, (e) *inescatone*, (f) *adproximatione*. In practice, there was no essential difference between the six methods.

⁵ See law against transferring disease, in note to law No. 4, p. 140.

⁶ Pettigrew, 78.

⁷ *Ibid.* 77; Pliny (xxx, 7) speaks entertainingly of transference to animals.

⁸ German *Hühnerauge*, *Elsterauge*, *Krähenaugen*.

⁹ See Grimm, II, 980.

This seemingly translocated the sickness to the genius of the tree.¹ In the "Canones Edgari," we find an Old English reference to similar practices: "Trēow-wurðunga and stān wurðunga and þone dēofles cræft, þær man þā cild þurh þā eorðan tihð" ("tree-worshippings and stone-worshippings, and that devil's art wherein children are drawn through the earth").² The custom has survived in European countries,³ and is not unknown in certain parts of the United States.⁴ An interesting ceremony took place in the year 1709, when the plague at Conitz in Prussia was charmed into a hole of the lime-tree in a churchyard. A plug kept ready, and fitting exactly, was driven in, and the plague disappeared.⁵

The translocation of diseases from the sufferer to the ground, to a stone, to water, to a piece of meat, and to other inanimate objects, next deserves our attention. The Penitentials of Theodorus⁶ and of Egbert,⁷ like the "Canones Edgari" above mentioned, contain severe injunctions against this observance. Egbert says, "They pull their children through the earth, and thus commit themselves and their children to the Devil."⁸ From this we may infer that children were drawn through holes in the ground very much as we have seen before that patients were made to crawl through cloven trees. The children were clearly expected to emerge recovered, and the disease was supposed to remain buried in the earth. Similarly, diseased people were passed through perforated stones. "At Minchin Hampton in Gloucestershire is an ancient stone called the 'Long Stone.' At its lower end is a perforation through which children used to be passed for the cure or prevention of measles, whooping-cough, and other ailments."⁹ Illnesses were furthermore transferred to single objects like spoons and sticks, as well as to pieces of flesh and to a variety of other things.¹⁰ Among the Anglo-Saxon charms, C 1 is a case of transference to running water. In C 3 an oaken brand, and in C 4 a green spoon, respectively receive the disease. In each instance the translocation is effected by bringing the receiving-object — brand, spoon, and running water — into contact with the sufferer's blood; the brand and spoon are then thrown away, while the running water conveys the disease to the ocean. In CC 2 the removal of the disease is made doubly sure by

¹ The Old French *Tristan*, 1321-34, tells how the dwarf Frocine confides to the blackthorn the secret that King Mark has horse's ears. He first puts his head under the hollow root, and then speaks. Thus the secret is passed on to the thorn.

² A. L. 396; numerous examples of drawing through trees in *P. L. S.*, *passim*.

³ Indeed, it seems to have been indigenous to almost every country (see *P. C.* II, 137).

⁴ See the New England charm for an obstinate ague (Black, 38).

⁵ See Tettau, 222.

⁶ A. L. 292.

⁷ See A. L. 293.

⁸ See laws 10, 11, and 16, pp. 141, 142.

⁹ See "Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland," by Col. Wood-Martin, in *Jour. of Roy. Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th series, vol. viii.

¹⁰ See Black, 34 ff.; Cockayne, I, liii ff.

selecting a receiving-object, and then hurling this object into a stream. The charm is against felons, and the directions to the conjurer read, "Take a hazel stick or spoon, write your name on it, make three incisions in [the felon], fill the name with the blood, throw it over your shoulder or between your thighs into running water and stand over the man. Strike the incisions and do all this in silence."

Death, always an enigmatical and superstitious subject among the living, played its part in the transference of disease. By touching a dead man's hand or garment, a sufferer could transfer his ailments to the corpse.¹ Again, diseases of survivors could be buried with their departed acquaintances; and the desired translocation might be effected by merely stepping over a dead man's grave. A charm for boils consists in poulticing the boil for three days and nights, and then placing the poultices and their cloths in the coffin of a dead man.² Black reports an amusing story of an Irishman bent almost double from rheumatism. Learning of the death of a neighbor, he crept to the "wake-house," seized the hand of the corpse, and, applying it to his arm, shoulder, and leg, said, "Tak' my pains wi' you, Thady, in the name of God!" According to the story, the invalid was thereafter able to throw away his crutches and walk as sturdily as younger and healthier men. In charm E.g.a I a similar transference of disease is provided for. A pregnant woman who cannot bring her child to maturity is told to step three times over the sepulchre of a dead man. Clearly, the idea is that an evil spirit is retarding gestation, and that, after the stepping-ceremony, this spirit is believed to enter the body of the dead.

The C spells may be analyzed as follows:—

1. Preliminary superstitious ritual to be performed by sorcerer or patient.
2. Description or designation of the receiving-object.
3. Ceremony of contact between receiving-object and patient.
4. Incantatory formula.³
5. Removal of receiving-object.

D. *Amulet Charms*. — The fourth group of charms includes those remedies which depend on the talismanic influence of some magical writing or of some material object carried about by the sick man. The custom of wearing amulets to prevent or to cure diseases may have had its origin in the sympathetic association of ideas. If a benevolent deity could not be prevailed upon to go in person and drive away the demons of disease, the next best thing was to secure some plant, stone, or other

¹ The relics of dead men, more especially of criminals and bad men generally, have always been esteemed in folk-medicine for their curative properties. Witness, at a lynching-bee, the scramble made for some part of the victim's remains.

² See *English Folk-Lore*, by T. F. Dyer, p. 171.

³ There is no formula in charms C 4 and C 5.

object sacred to the god, or in some way associated with him, and to expel the intruder or ward off future attacks by wearing the object, say, around the neck. Thus, in Scandinavia, some ten little silver Thor's hammers have been found, each of which was attached to a chain serving as a neck-piece. The hammers were regarded by Norsemen as miniatures of Thor's prodigious weapon, and were believed to contain all the virtues of their prototype.¹ The number of things which could effectually serve as amulets was well-nigh unlimited. A small list would contain the bones, teeth, skin, and other parts of animals, parts of plants, precious and common stones.

Herbs, prescribed as amulets in eighteen of the Anglo-Saxon charms (B 1, B 2, D 1, D 3, and DD 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18), were renowned among the Teutons for their magical properties. Many wonderful stories are told of them in the Anglo-Saxon "Herbarium." An herb named Asterion² is said to "shine at night as a star in heaven, and he who sees it supposes that he has seen an apparition."³ The same peculiarity is ascribed to the peony.⁴ Dittany is a wort which roes eat when wounded with arrows. The arrows are thereupon ejected, and the wound is healed.⁵ Those who were barked at by dogs could escape the annoying experience if they carried a piece of vervain, an herb in high repute among sorcerers.⁶ Mullen, if the compiler of the "Herbarium" is to be credited, will safeguard the person who carries it against attack by wild animals, and will endow him with absolute fearlessness.⁷ Another wort⁸ is especially recommended to travellers over unfrequented regions, since it is warranted to put robbers to flight. To cure swellings and to drive away snakes, a little yarrow need merely be hung around the neck.⁹ Yarrow was a veritable stand-by with the ancient English. It could be used to heal any wound made with iron weapons, and was prescribed in cases of toothache, urinary disarrangements, eczema, hardened veins, stomach-ache, hiccough, purulent inflammation, snake-bite, dog-bite, and internal difficulties of every description. Again, eleven or thirteen grains of coriander, knit on a linen cloth and held by a maiden on the left thigh of a confined woman, will

¹ See *Nord. Myth.* 550.

² Only the Greek name is found in the *Herbarium*.

³ Cockayne, I, 165.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 169. The same herb is used as an amulet for madness (see DD 4).

⁵ *Ibid.* I, 167.

⁶ In DD 5. — In a MS. from the Royal Library at Stockholm the following verse about vervain is found: —

"If it be on hym day and nyth
And kepe fro dedly synne aryth,
Ye devil of helle schal hawe no myth."

See Holt, 315.

⁷ In DD 6; mullen is also the amulet in charm D 3.

⁸ *ἡραχλῆς*; see DD 16.

⁹ In DD 17.

induce speedy parturition.¹ Nocturnal visitors, most horrifying of nightmares to primitive man, might be withheld by keeping on hand a piece of wood-thistle or of betony.²

Some curious superstitions were connected with the mandrake, which was liberally employed in Saxon leechdom and sorcery. The fresh root of this plant has a powerful narcotic odor, which sometimes strongly affects the senses. The fable consequently arose that it was fatal to dig up the root; so an animal, usually a dog, was selected as the victim. The Saxon "Herbarium" describes in detail the ceremony of delving for the magic plant.³ The most important part of the proceeding was to tie one end of a cord to the root, while the other end was fastened to a dog's neck. A piece of meat was then thrown near the dog, but beyond his reach, so that he would jerk up the plant in his endeavor to obtain the bait. It was also believed that some specimens of mandrake which resemble a man or a woman,⁴ when torn up, uttered a shriek which it was death to hear.⁵

Among other herbs valued by the Old English leech-sorcerers were the castor-oil plant, the periwinkle, the sea-holly, lupine, garlic, madder, buttercup, clover, dock, pennyroyal, and sorrel.⁶ The first named was favored by mariners, since, if hung on shipboard, it soothed the tempest, averted the hailstorm, and warded off the lightning and the thunderbolt.⁷ Of the sea-holly, the "Herbarium" reports that it has a head like a gorgon's, while its twigs have eyes and nose.⁸ Finally, in B 1 the periwinkle is extolled as a talisman against snakes, wild beasts, poisons, and demoniacal possessions. Better still, it can be used as a sort of perpetual wishbone; since, for the mere asking, its fortunate possessor can obtain a variety of wishes, secure grace to himself, and inspire envy and terror in the bosoms of his foes.⁹

¹ In DD 18. For a similar purpose, DD 9 prescribes twelve grains of coriander-seed, and naively promises that the performance will give "a boy or a maiden."

² DD 15. The Stockholm MS. has this verse about betony:—

"Who so betonye on hym bere
Fro wykkeð sperytis hi wyll hym were."

See Holt. 308. —

Betony is also used in charm D 1 for nightmare.

³ Cockayne, i, 245

⁴ There are, in fact, two species. A similar fable is reported of southernwood (see Cockayne, i, 253).

⁵ Eng. Med. 75; and Cockayne, i, 247. Mandrake stories were exceedingly common in the middle ages, and were frequently cited and referred to by Elizabethan writers.

⁶ These plants are all recommended as amulets: lupine and garlic in D 1, lupine also in DD 2 for indigestion; madder in DD 1 for dysentery; buttercup in DD 3 against lunacy; clover, which hung around the neck, insures the wearer against dimness of eyesight (see Cockayne, i, 321); dock in DD 10 for a horse which has been shot (probably elf-shot); pennyroyal in DD 11 to cure a sudden dumbness; and sorrel in DD 12 for an elf-shot horse.

⁷ See BB 11.

⁸ It is a talisman against "every evil" (see Cockayne, i, 319).

⁹ For further Old English superstitions connected with herbs and trees, see the charms

Like herbs, stones were held in great veneration by the ancient Germanic tribes, and were employed as periapts. They are so used in charms D 4, D 5, and D 11. It is difficult to say how a belief in the magical properties of stones arose. Legends narrated the transformation of giants and men into stones,¹ and these stones were supposed to retain a sort of subliminal consciousness of their former state.² Not unnaturally, compassion and interest in man's welfare began to be attributed to these petrified beings. Hence such expressions as "the very stones wept," "it would move a heart of stone." Connected in this way with superstitious beliefs, stones became the object of worship, and were kept in houses as horseshoes are to this day, or were carried around to ward off evil. References to stone worship are found in the Anglo-Saxon laws. Expressions such as "stānwurþunga" and "bringan tō stāne," which occur in the canons of King Cnut, in those of King Edgar, and in the Penitentials, show that the practices indicated were not infrequent.³

Certain varieties of stones were supposed to be peculiarly efficacious as amulets. Amber and jet are frequently recommended, the latter in D 5 and E 14, for instance.⁴ Again, stones of particular colors or from specified places are preferred. Thus, a favorite talisman among mariners was a blue stone, which sailors washed when winds were unpropitious.⁵ One of the charms recommends a white stone as a talisman against stitch, strange calamities, lightning, thunder, and delusions of every kind.⁶ Three stones taken from the crop of a young swallow are prescribed as amulets in charm D 4. Nor was it imperative that the stones be actually carried by the person or be kept indoors. To shield a farm against evil spirits, D 11 recommends the farmer to place a meal-stone in the middle of a field. The directions further specify that a circle and certain words and numbers be inscribed on the stone.

In five of the printed D charms, the amulet consists of a writing containing mysterious words, letters, and other symbols. These more or less unintelligible writings have already been fully discussed on a preceding page.⁷ It will be sufficient to say here that D 6 has a jingle incantation of precisely the same nature as the formulas in jingle charms A 5-9, while D 7-10 contain collocations of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew

in the text (especially B 4); also Fischer, 28 ff.; Holt, 293 ff.; Hoops, 41 ff.; and charm CC 2. In connection with herbs when carried as amulets, we twice read the curious direction that they are to be tied with a "red thread;" namely, in BB 3 and in Cockayne, II, 307. This red thread was once, according to Grimm, a legal symbol sacred to the god of boundaries (see RA. 182 and 809).

¹ Grimm, II, 551.

² *Ibid.* II, 645.

³ See laws Nos. 5, 10, 12, 13, 15, pp. 141, 142.

⁴ Cf. talismanic use of jet (Beda, chap. I, 1), of pearl (Grimm, II, 1019), and of many other stones, in *Precious Stones in Nature, Art, and Literature*, by S. M. Burnham (Boston, 1886).

⁵ Grimm, III, 185.

⁶ See DD 8.

⁷ See p. 114.

words and letters, interspersed with numerals and with Christian ecclesiastical phraseology.

The material on which writings are to be placed is only specified in two instances, D 10 and DD 14, where parchment and wax are respectively named.¹

In two spells, D 11 and D 12, geometrical figures are employed. D 11 prescribes the meal-stone talisman already cited. On this stone, two circles with unequal radii, but with a common centre, are to be inscribed. The smaller circle is divided by two diameters into four parts. In three of these parts Roman numerals are placed; the fourth part contains a few abbreviated Latin words. In D 12, a periapt against theft, the diagram presents two rectangles, one within the other, with interesting perpendiculars from the middle of the four sides of the larger rectangle, and letters in different parts of the figure.

The D charms fall naturally into two divisions. To the first division belong charms D 1-5, which prescribe material objects for amulets, and have no incantatory formula. To the second belong charms D 6-10, in which a magical writing, not a material object, serves as amulet.

An analysis of the charms in the first division reveals the following features:—

1. A description of the amulet. ♀
2. Information regarding means and method of obtaining the amulet. ♀
3. Statement of how and where the amulet is to be worn.
4. Enumeration of diseases which the amulet is alleged to cure.

All except the first of these features are likewise descriptive of the charms which constitute the second division. The fourth and distinctive feature of the second group is a written formula composed of gibberish in the manner of the *rigmaroles* discussed under the third of the general characteristics of charms. In these D charms the written statement itself is the amulet, and therefore does not need further description.

Two charms, D 11 and D 12, remain to be considered. They reveal more affinity with the second than with the first of the main groups, for in each there is a magical writing. This is not in verbal form, however, but is made up of figures and of separate words and numerals. D 11, however, betrays a resemblance to charms of the first group, in so far as the amulet does not consist solely of the written symbols, but of these together with the stone on which the symbols are inscribed.

Besides herbs, stones, and writings, the following articles are mentioned as amulets in the Anglo-Saxon charms: a fox's tooth wrapped in a fawn's skin, an ear of barley, the right shank of a dead black dog, a

¹ See reference, in *Sal. and Sat.*, lines 319 ff. and 326 ff., to magical rune writings on swords.

bunch of hair and wax.¹ It is curious to observe the directions for wearing or placing amulets. Most of the herbs and stones are prescribed to be carried on the person, without specifying where. But to stanch a flow of blood, barley is to be poked into the victim's ear.² For other evils, herbs are variously placed around the house, on a beehive, on a man's neck, and on a woman's left thigh.³ To cure a woman who has been suddenly stricken dumb, pennyroyal wound up in wool is merely to be laid under the unfortunate.⁴ Finally, objects are hung on the arm; and writings are placed around the neck, on the left breast, in the left shoe, under the heel, and under the right foot.⁵

E. Charm Remedies. — In the Anglo-Saxon medical books occur recipes in which superstition is either the most important or the sole element.⁶ Fourteen of these recipes have been selected as types for publication in the text; but all will be referred to.

The primitive conception that disease is caused by evil-working demons finds concise expression in the opening words of charm EE 1: "For a fiend-sick man, when a devil possesses a man, or ravages him internally with disease."

All the charm remedies do not contain such explicit references to disease-demons. There are, indeed, numerous charms against elves, dwarfs, loathsome fiends, mighty witches, night-demons, devils, and succubæ, which are really pseudo-remedies for diseases alleged to have been caused by the creatures named. But in the majority of English spells the evil spirit is not directly referred to. Yet even in these cases it is easy to conclude, from the remedies prescribed, that malevolent, superhuman beings are regarded as the fountain-heads of all varieties of illnesses. When a recipe for extreme dyspepsia requires the victim's ears and whiskers to be severely pulled,⁷ or dropsy is treated with a salve made from dog's vomit,⁸ we recognize without difficulty the familiar sorcerer's device of expelling the demon by violence or by nausea. Twenty-eight of the forty-five E charms can be understood only upon the basis of some such connection between the remedy suggested and a disease-demon not actually named, but plainly inferred. In four of the remaining seventeen charms, the Devil is named as the originator of disease; four others are against elvish influence; two are directed against succubæ and incubi; two against dwarfs, and four against witchcraft.⁹ In EE 30 and in EE 24 there appears to be no intimation of an evil

¹ See D 2, D 6, DD 7, DD 13, DD 14, respectively.

² D 6.

³ DD 2, DD 1, DD 3, DD 9, respectively.

⁴ DD 11.

⁵ See DD 6, D 10, D 9, D 12, and DD 14. For further instances of AS. amulets, see Fischer, p. 22.

⁶ *Hávamál*, 146, refers to such charm remedies.

⁷ See EE 26.

⁸ See EE 19.

⁹ Charm E 14 is against elf and witchcraft too.

spirit. "If a mar's head be distorted," reads the former, "lay the man with face up and; drive two stakes into the ground at the armpits, then place a plank obliquely over the feet and strike three times upon it with a sledge-hammer. His skull will soon be right." The remedy is clearly based on parallelism and association of ideas. The blows on the plank simulate the blows which, directly applied to the head, might restore it to a normal shape, but which, in the nature of the case, cannot be so applied. Charm EE 24 is likewise sufficiently curious to deserve citation: "If a man intend to fight with his enemy, let him see the young of shore swallows in wine; then let him eat them before the fight; or boil them in spring water."¹

We can readily understand this charm if we remember the mythical character of certain animals and birds. In old Germanic lore, swallows and other birds converse on the destiny of men, and furnish them with superior knowledge.² An old Germanic legend tells of men who understand the language of birds as soon as they have eaten a white snake.³ Just as in this instance extraordinary sources of information were opened up to the snake-eater, so, in EE 24, it may be that extraordinary agility, or some other quality valuable in combat, was obtained by eating the swallow.

Four charms against nightmare caused by elves are B 3, BB 3, BB 14, and D 8. Other diseases were later ascribed to elfin malice; and charms A 24, B 5, DD 12, E 2, E 8, E 14, and EE 9 are remedies for such misfortunes.

Convulsions of an epileptic nature were ascribed to dwarfs; and four charms (A 2, E 6, E 11, and AA 16) are formulas for expelling these fiends.

One consequence of Christianity was that the blame for sicknesses was foisted on the Devil, rather than on fiends indiscriminately. Thus insanity, especially in its more violent phases, came to be regularly attributed to possession by Satan. Perhaps this was because "devil-sickness," as the Saxons termed the disease, was felt to be the most abhorrent and debasing of maladies, and therefore worthy the activity of the Archfiend himself; or perhaps because madness was traditionally

¹ See also charm BB 13, where the right forefoot of a badger is recommended as an amulet to insure victory in combat.

² See Grimm, ii, 558 ff.; and cf. the ballads of *The Three Ravens* and *The Two Corbies*, No. 26 in F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.

³ See Grimm, ii, 560. According to an Icelandic belief, one could understand the language of birds by touching one's tongue with the heart plucked from a living raven (Gering, p. 207, No. 3); cf. Sigurd comprehending the birds after tasting the dragon's blood (*Fáfnismál*, strophe 31 ff.). For similar beliefs, see *Germ.* xi, 395. Other animals, parts of whose bodies the Anglo-Saxons considered invaluable either as imparting strength and protection, or furnishing remedies for disease, were badgers, dogs, wolves, porpoises, goats, and sheep (see *Herbarium*; Cockayne, i, 70 ff.; and Fischer, 36 ff.).

viewed as the disorder which afflicted those two from whom Christ transferred the devils to the swine.¹ Spells against-devil-sickness, or spells which mention the Devil as the originator of disease, are Nos. A 23, B 1, D 3, EE 10, EE 11, EE 29, and EE 31.

In a few charms, not evil spirits, but the witchcraft of human sorcerers, is held accountable for the disease. Such charms are D 4, D 8, DD 6, E 10, E 12, E 14, EE 25. It must not be forgotten, however, that while in these instances the blame is laid at the door of sorcery, the actual suffering may still have been viewed as caused by demons, since every conjurer in good standing was believed to hold a brace or so of fiends in leash.

An interesting light is thrown on mediæval superstition by charms D 4 and E 10. These are remedies for knots,² imaginary bindings or checkings of muscles, which prevented men from performing the conjugal act. Knots were always the work of an enemy. At the instance of some jealous girl,³ a sorcerer would mumble the necessary spell, and then assure his client that knot or ligature successfully controlled the intended victim. The effect was considered to be most speedily brought about by administering an herbal brew over which an incantation had been uttered. The incantation alone, however, was sufficient, and the marriage of the man selected for the knot was deemed a most opportune time for the bewitchment. So great was the terror which this disease inspired, that priests were cautioned not to make alterations in the wedding-rites on account of knots, lest their so doing should rivet the chains of this terror on the minds of the people.⁴

Analyzing the procedure in the E charms, the following are discovered to be the principal features:—

1. Instructions to exorcist or patient, or both, concerning prescribed superstitious ceremonials.
2. A spoken or a written formula.
3. A statement expressing confidence in the success of the treatment, or an enumeration of the disorders which the remedy will cure.

The three methods for effecting the expulsion of disease-demons can likewise be shown most satisfactorily in the following diagrammatic form:⁵—

¹ Matthew viii, 28.

² So called by Cockayne (i, xli).

³ Read the story of a knot laid by Gunnhild upon Hrut (*Nials saga*, 12); cf. other stories in Fischer, 13, 18.

⁴ "Ne ob timorem immodationis vel ligaminis alicuius, matrimonia solemnizent modo aliquo ab ordinario loci non approbato . . . ne ipsi, qui alios ab huiusmodi vano timore, verbo et exemplo retrahere debent, ipsis mali et damnabilis timoris exemplum præbere videantur" (in Eynatten, *Manualis Exorcismorum*, 1619, p. 220).

⁵ With one exception, EE 19, only the printed E charms are included in this analysis.

- I. (a) Superstitious ritual and
(b) Spoken formula.
 Heathen, E 1.
 Christian, E 2.
- II. (a) Superstitious ritual.
(b) Physical force.
 Blows, E 2 and E 3.
 Fumes, E 4 and E 5.
 Salve { loathsome, EE 19.
 { holy, E 8.
 Magic food { E 9, E 11.
 { E 10, E 12.
 Magic drink, E 13.
 Besprinkling with holy water, E 14.
- III. (a) Superstitious ritual.
(b) Holy writing on some part of the body, E 6 and E 7.

The ritual forming a part of all E charms consists of one or more of those superstitious performances described under the general characteristics of charms. The incantations in E 1 are composed of Anglo-Saxon phrases more or less unintelligible. In E 2, ritual, spoken formula, and physical violence, are all employed. The formula in this case is a Benedicite, a Christian substitution for earlier idolatrous spells.

The six means of forcible expulsion found in the E remedies are all well-known black-art methods which have previously received attention. The method by blows is admirably illustrated in the elf-shot horse charm, E 2, which provides for the piercing of the animal's ear and the beating of its back. The salves are either herbal concoctions rendered holy, and therefore obnoxious to spirits, by the addition of incense and holy water, or they are loathsome mixtures with nauseating ingredients, such as hound's vomit in EE 19. Abominable foods, again, may be employed to eject the demon of disease. The prescription in E 11, for example, calls for a cake compounded of meal and the excrement of a dog: this the sufferer from "dwarf-complaint" is required to eat. Holy foods are sometimes called for;¹ and the magic drinks are all holy drinks, — herbal brews with drops of holy water added.² EE 1 offers an interesting variation from the other magic potions. It recommends "a drink for a fiend sick man to be drunk out of a church bell." Church bells were regarded by fiends³ with peculiar aversion, since the ringing of bells called people to a worship which was hostile to the old belief in

¹ Cf. the rind from Paradise, in E 9.

² But it is probable that in Heathen times runes and other symbols were cut into the stalks of worts used in charm remedies. The virtues of the magical signs were supposed to be communicated to the herbal brews. See *Sigrdrifumál*, 5; and Gering, *at*, note 9.

³ These were, of course, largely recruited from the old Heathen divinities.

Heathen deities and nature spirits. Other drinks and foods with almost equally peculiar directions are prescribed in the several EE charms. In all these instances the object desired is the freeing of the patient from some illness, while the treatment prescribed seems obviously modified from older "methods of violence" used in expelling the various demons of disease.¹

CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE CHARMS

The attitude assumed by mediæval Church and State towards magic in general, and charms in particular, is reflected in the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, in the sermons of the period, and in the penitential enactments of the Church. The following citations comprise all extant Anglo-Saxon legislation, as well as penitentials and ecclesiastical admonitions, pertaining to charms.

Laws against Charm Magic

1. And wē lærað þæt prēosta gehwīlc crīstendōm geornlice ārære, and ælcra hæðendōm mid-ealle ædwæsse; and forbode wil-weorðunga and lic-wiðlunga and hwata and galdra and man-weorðunga, and þā gemearr þe man driðf on mislīcum gewiðlungum and on frið-splottum and on ellenum and eac on ðorum mislīcum trēowum and on stānum and on manegum mislīcum gedwimerum þe men ondrēogað fela þæs þe hī nā ne scoldon.²

2. Gif wif drý-craeft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste xii. mōnað, oððe iii. æ-fæstenu oððe xl. nihta, gewite hū mycel sēo fyren sig.³

3. Nis nā sōðlice ālyfed nānum crīstenum men þæt hē Iðele hwatunga begā, swā hæðene men dōð (þæt is, þæt hig gelyfon on sunnan and on mōnan . . . and sēcon tīda hwatunga hyra þing tō begynnanne), ne wyrta gad-erunge mid nānum galdre, būtan mid Paternoster and mid Crēdan, oððe mid sumon gebede þe tō Gode belimpe.⁴

4. Si qua mulier divinationes vel incantationes diabolicas fecerit, l. annum poeniteat.⁵

¹ See charac. 4, p. 115.

² *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 16 (A. L. 396).¹⁴⁹

³ *Confess. Ecg.* 29 (A. L. 355).¹⁶⁹

⁴ *Pæn. Ecg.* ii, 23 (A. L. 371). For similar OHG. law, see Grimm, iii, 413: *Wie das nu*, etc.; against gathering herbs with charms, see also *Ælfr. Hom.* i, 476.

⁵ *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 13 (A. L. 292).¹³³

Similarly hostile to the sorcerer's spells were the earliest Icelandic church ordinances. One of them ordains:—

"If any one engages in witchcraft or charm-magic, he shall lose his freedom" (*Nord. Myth.* 566).

Norwegian laws were likewise directed against charms, as the following enactments show: "Whoever engages in charm-magic must leave the king's land."

"No one may believe in sorcerers, witchcraft, or herbs;" that is, in the magical properties of herbs (see p. 132).

"Every woman who uses charm remedies and declares that she can help people, if convicted thereof, shall pay three shillings" (*Nord. Myth.* 567).

See also *Ælfric's* opposition to charm magic, *Hom.* i, 474.—The following decree from the collection by Burchard of Worms is likewise directed against charms: "*Perscrutandum, si aliquis subulcus vel bubulcus sive venator vel ceteri hujusmodi diabolica carmine*

Laws against Heathendom¹

5. And wē forbēodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe.

Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man deofolgyld weorðige, þæt man weorðige hæðene godas and sunnan oððe mōnan, fȳr oððe flōd, wæterwyllas oððe stānas oððe æniges cynnes wudutrēowa, oððe wiccecræft lufige . . . swylcra gedwimera ænig þinge drēoge.²

6. And þæt is þonne ærest þæra biscpa frumræd, þæt wē ealle fram synnum georne gecyrran . . . and ælcne hæþendōm georne forbūgan³ . . .

7. And gyf hwā Cristendōm wyrde oððe hæþendōm weorþige . . . gylde swā wer swā wite.⁴

8. Gif þonne æni man āgiten wurðe, þæt ænigne hæðenscipe heonan forð drēoge oððe on blōt oððe on firhte oððe on ænig wiccecræft lufige, oððe idola wurðinge, . . . gilde X. healfmarc.⁵

9. And wē lærað þæt man geswice frēolis-dagum hæðenrā lēoða and deofles gamena.⁶

10. Trēow-wurþunga and stān-wurþunga and þone deofles cræft þær man þā cild þurh þā eorðan tihð⁷ . . .

11. Wifman hēo þæs ylcan wyrde gif hēo tilað hire cilde mid ænigum wiccecræfte, oððe æt wega gelæton þurh þā eorðan tihð. Eala þæt ys mycel hæðenscipe.⁸

12. Gif hwylc man his ælmessan gehāte oððe bringe tō hwylcon wylle oððe tō stāne oððe tō trēowe oððe tō ænigum oðrum gesceaftum būtan on Godes naman tō Godes cyrican, fæste iii. gēar.⁹

13. Gif friðgeard sȳ on hwæs lande ābūton stān oððe trēow oððe wille oððe swilces ænigge fleard, þonne gilde sē ðe hit worhte lahsliht.¹⁰

14. Siquis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides sive ad cancellos, vel ubicunque excepto in ecclesia Dei, votum uoverit aut exsolverit, iii. annos poeniteat.¹¹

dicat super panem, aut super herbas, aut super quædam nefaria ligamenta, et hæc aut in arbore abecondat, aut in bivio aut in trivio projiciat, ut sua animalia liberet a peste et clade, et alterius perdat" (*Interrogatio*, 43).

There are numerous German ecclesiastical enactments of the same tenor. See, for example, Burchard of Worms, *Decretals*, i, 54; x, 8, 34.

¹ Including laws against tree, stone, earth, and water worship.

² Cnut, sec. 5 (G. A. 312).

³ *Laws of King Æthelred*, vi, 1 (G. A. 246).

⁴ *Laws of Edward and Guthrum*, 2 (G. A. 130).

⁵ *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, 48, A. D. 1028-60 (G. A. 383).

⁶ *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 18 (A. L. 357); see above, law No. 1 (Edgar 16), also directed against heathendom.

⁷ *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 16 note (A. L. 396).¹⁰⁴⁶

⁸ *Pæn. Ecg.* iv, 20 (A. L. 380).¹⁰⁴⁷ Very similar is law No. 16, below, and the following from Burchard's decrees: "Fecisti quod quædam mulieres facere solent, illas dico quæ habent vagientes infantes, effodiunt terram et ex parte pertusant eam, et per illud foramen pertrahunt infantem et sic dicunt vagientis infantis cessare vagitum" (Burchard, No. 199).

⁹ *Pæn. Ecg.* ii, 22 (A. L. 371); similarly, *Ibid.* iv, 19 (A. L. 380); and *Ælfr. Hom.* i, 474.

¹⁰ *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, 54 (G. A. 383).

¹¹ *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 18 (A. L. 293).

15. Si quis pro sanitate filii, per foramen terræ exierit, illudque spinis post se concludit, xl. dies pœniteat.¹

Laws against Witchcraft²

16. And wē bēodað, þæt man eard georne clānsian aginne on æghwylcan ende and manfulra dæda æghwær geswice.

And gif wiccean oððe wigleras, morðwyrhtan oððe hōrcwenan āhwær on lande wurðan āgitene, fýse hig man georne út of þysum earde, oððe on earde forfare hig mid calle³ . . .

17. Ðā fæmnan þe gewuniað onfōn gealdorcraeftigan and scīnlæcan and wiccan, ne læt þū ǣ libban.⁴

18. Ðā ǣ . . . liblāc wyrcað, bēon hī ā fram ælcum Godes dæle āwor-pene⁵ . . .

19. And wē cwædon be þām wiccecraftum and be liblācum . . . gif mon þær ācweald wære, and hē his ætsacan ne mihte, þæt hē bēo his fēores scyldig.⁶

20. Swā hwylc man swā corn bærne on þære stōwe þær man dēad wære lyfigendum mannum tō hæle, and on his hūse: fæste V. winter.⁷

21. Wif gif hēo set hire dohtor ofer hūs oððe on ofen forþām ǣ hēo wylle hig fēfer-ādle gehælan: fæste hēo VII. winter.⁸

22. Gif hwā drife stacan on ænigne man: fæste III. gēar.⁹

23. Gif hwā wiccige ymbe æniges mannes lufe and him on æte sylle oððe on drince oððe on æniges cynnes gealdorcraeftum, þæt hyra lufu forþon þe mære bēon scyle, gif hit lāwede man dō, fæste healf gēar.¹⁰

24. Si quis pro amore veneficus sit, et neminem perdideret, si laicus est, dimidium annum pœniteat; si clericus, I. annum; si subdiaconus, II. annos pœniteat.¹¹

25. Non licet Christianos ecclesiam Dei derelinquere, et ire ad auguria, atque angelos nominare, et congregationes facere, quæ interdicta noscuntur.¹²

26. Si quis ligaturas fecerit, quod detestabile est: III. annos pœniteat.¹³

Full of injunctions against charm magic, amulets, herb enchantments, and other heathenisms, is a sermon by St. Eligius.¹⁴ It is an ex-

¹ *Pan. Theo.* xxvii, 16 (A. L. 293).

² As before, only those laws are quoted which relate to the present subject; for example, laws on witchcraft involving knots, and on superstitions connected with the dead.

³ *Secular laws of King Cnut*, 4 (G. A. 310); exactly like this are *Laws of Edward on Guthrum*, ii (G. A. 134), and *Laws of King Æthelred*, vi, 7 (G. A. 248).

⁴ *Laws of King Alfred*, 30 (G. A. 38).

⁵ *Laws of King Edmund*, i, 6 (G. A. 186).

⁶ *Laws of King Æthelstan*, ii, 6 (G. A. 152).

⁷ *Confess. Ecg.* 32 (A. L. 356); similarly, *Pan. Theo.* xxvii, 15 (A. L. 293).

⁸ *Confess. Ecg.* 33; (A. L. 356).

⁹ *Pan. Ecg.* iv, 17 (A. L. 379); similarly, *Modus imponendi Penitentiam*, 38 (A. L. 405)-275.

¹⁰ *Pan. Ecg.* iv, 18 (A. L. 379).

¹¹ *Pan. Theo.* xxvii, 10 (A. L. 292).

¹² *Ibid.* xxvii, 7 (A. L. 292).

¹³ *Ibid.* xxvii, 22 (A. L. 293).

¹⁴ Born 588, died 659.

cellent example of the manner in which the subject was treated by the more radical opponents of superstition:—

“Before all things I declare and testify to you that you shall observe none of the impious customs of the pagans, neither sorcerers, nor diviners, nor soothsayers, nor enchanters, nor must you presume for any cause, or for any sickness, to consult or inquire of them; for he who commits this sin loses unavoidably the grace of baptism. In like manner pay no attention to auguries and sneezings; and when you are on a journey pay no attention to the singing of certain little birds. But whether you are setting out on a journey, or beginning any other work, cross yourself in the name of Christ, and say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer with faith and devotion, and then the enemy can do you no harm. . . . Let no Christian place lights at the temples, or the stones, or at fountains, or at trees, . . . or at places where three ways meet, or presume to make vows. Let none presume to hang amulets on the neck of man or beast; even though they be made by the clergy, and called holy things, and contain the words of scripture; for they are fraught, not with the remedy of Christ, but with the poison of the Devil. Let no one presume to make lustrations, nor to enchant herbs, nor to make flocks pass through a hollow tree, or an aperture in the earth; for by so doing he seems to consecrate them to the Devil.

“Moreover, as often as any sickness occurs, do not seek enchanters, nor diviners, nor sorcerers, nor soothsayers, or make devilish amulets at fountains or trees, or cross-roads; but let him who is sick trust only to the mercy of God, and receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ with faith and devotion; and faithfully seek consecrated oil from the church, wherewith he may anoint his body in the name of Christ, and according to the Apostle, the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.”¹

This legislation, with its uncompromising tone towards magic arts, was the product of a period when the Church had firmly intrenched itself in the soil of Western Europe, and felt the need of exterminating Paganism, root and branch. But the early Christian fathers pursued no such intransigent policy. While they were necessarily opposed to the conspicuous forms of heathendom, their first attitude towards popular beliefs and superstitious healing was one of discreet conciliation. They assaulted beliefs, but respected customs. The gods were dethroned in favor of Jehovah, but the ancient rites were continued in the latter's worship. This milder system of conversion was in part owing to the wisdom of Pope Gregory. In his recommendations to the English missionaries he said, among other things, “*Fana idolorum destrui . . . minime debeant; sed ipsa, quæ in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquæ ponantur . . . ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*”²

¹ Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1841), p. 150.

² “That the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let th

What further led to the easy persistence of the old customs was the credulity of the clergy themselves. The Church might refuse to sanction incantatory practices, but it could not eradicate them while its own servants believed in fiends and evil spirits. Priests did not at all question the existence of the heathen gods: they merely denied their divinity, and ranked them as demons.¹ Nor were there many to dispute the power of these demons or the efficacy of superstitious remedies. Therefore Pagan charms had to be met by Christian charms; and wherever heathen names of deities were used, authorized canonical names had to be substituted. From this want of single-hearted aim in its war on magic usages, the Church met with but slight success; so that Christian and Pagan ceremonies came to be strangely mingled. In the letters of Boniface there is a passage which bears on the anomalous situation. The author bitterly laments the confusion of the ancient and the new rites, and declares that "foolish, reckless, or guilty priests are to blame."²

Pursuant to the policy of peaceable substitution recommended by Gregory the Great, Heathen celebrations were continued under Christian names. Thus the old Yuletide merrymaking in honor of Thor became a festival celebrating the birth of Christ, and a German feast held on the 1st of October in memory of warriors slain on the field was metamorphosed into the festival of All-Souls to commemorate the souls of departed believers.³ Other Heathen customs underwent similar transformations. Water-worship and vigils at wells, when under Heathen auspices, were, as we have seen, rigorously forbidden. But when a saint replaced the elfin genius as patron of a stream or well, the interdicted practices were winked at or flatly approved by the clergy, and were thus carried on even until recent times.⁴ Mention has already been made of the inbred Heathen faith in the virtues of running water, and of the uses to which water is put in the charms. The employment of holy water by the Church appears to be a continuation of an ancient rite, and baptismal sprinkling seems likewise to have had its origin in a primitive custom.⁵ Among the Germanic tribes, new-born children were dipped idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected, and relics placed . . . that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts; and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." — Bede, i, 30.

¹ Observe how the invocation "of demons, or of Neptune, Diana, or Minerva," is condemned in one breath by St. Eligius in the sermon quoted above.

² See Grimm, i, 75, note 3.

³ W. Müller, *Geschichte u. System d. alldutschen Religion* (Göttingen, 1844), p. 74.

⁴ In England they still persist in places. See Hope, *passim*.

⁵ See Gering, *Einleitung*, 8. The thirteenth spell mentioned in *Hávamál*, 157, is for recital over a child at time of naming. That children were sprinkled with water during the ceremony of naming them is further shown by *Rígsþula* 7 and 21. Bugge (371 ff.) denies the Heathen origin of baptismal sprinkling. Cf. also H. Pfannenschmidt, *Germanische Erntefeste im heidnischen Kultus* (Hannover, 1868), p. 76.

in running water, and warriors were sprinkled with the magic liquid before entering battle. Odin is reported to say, "If I pour water on the young warrior, he will not fall, even in battle; he will not be slain by the sword."¹ This lends plausibility to the belief that sprinkling-rites antedated the Christian era, and that when, in the charms, persons or beasts are directed to be moistened with holy water, the latter replaces the running water of an earlier Heathen version. So, in the remedy for diseased sheep (EE 14), the ceremony of pouring hallowed water over the animals may well be a Christianized form of an old Teutonic custom.

Not only wells, but streams, trees, and stones — where wood and water sprites had once held sway — continued their miraculous cures under the new régime. But the picturesque elves of Heathen lore gave way to saints. Grimm mentions several instances of this substitution;² and the subject is extensively illustrated in R. C. Hope's "Holy Wells, their Legends and Traditions." The attitude of the Church is reflected in the twenty-sixth canon of St. Anselm: "Let no one attribute reverence or sanctity to a fountain, without the Bishop's authority." In other words, a well might not continue "to do business," unless under the auspices of a saint.

Nor did the medieval Church make any attempt to abolish the invocation of a superior spirit in curing diseases; only, the faithful were directed to address saints, angels, and martyrs, instead of gods, demons, and magicians. One result of this was, that in the Catholic superstition of the middle ages there grew up a regular system, in which a particular saint, male or female, was invoked for almost every pain and disease in the several limbs and organs of the body.³ In like manner, demons were driven out, not by threatening them with the ire of a protecting genius or of a potent counter-demon, but by intimidating them with the power of God or of the angelic kindred.⁴ The exorcism in charm DD 19 reads, "Fevers, depart from N., the servant of God: seven hundred fourteen thousand angels will pursue you."

A sequel to the conciliatory policy of the Church was the active participation of the clergy in the old superstitious customs. This was not as unnatural as it may seem. The very air of the time was heavy with irrational beliefs; and priests, like other people, breathed in what they were far from recognizing as Pagan superstitions. Moreover, in the early days of proselytizing, the clergy was largely recruited from the Heathen

¹ Gum. 393.

² Grimm, I, 488, note 2.

³ For a list of such saints, see Brand, 197, and M. Höfler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube* (München, 1893), p. 41.

⁴ For the part played by monks in exorcismal healing, see Ebermann, p. 135, and *ZfdA.* iv, 576 ff.

priesthood.¹ The Church gained doubly by such conversions. Heathen worshippers were at once impressed and conciliated; and the service of Christ acquired the men who, by intelligence, training, and influence, were best fitted to propagate the new religion. These convert priests, nevertheless, continued in sympathy with the more deeply-rooted practices of their countrymen. They realized the power and fascination which spells, for instance, exerted on the popular mind: hence they sought to reconcile charm magic with the Christian faith. Benedictions were accordingly uttered upon bride and bridegroom; upon the sick and the dead; upon bread, salt, and honey; upon women at their churching; upon house, well, cornfield, and orchard; and upon sword and standard before a combat. These blessings were all substitutions for ancient incantations. In further recognition of Heathen beliefs, the Church proceeded to appoint exorcists, officially so-called,² who ranked after the sub-deacon, and sought, with appropriate exorcisms, to expel the devils, the incubi, and the succubæ with which people believed themselves afflicted.³ That charm remedies were administered by priests as a matter of course, we have the further testimony of EE 20, a charm rite for epilepsy, where the directions read, "A mass priest shall perform this leechdom, if a man has means to get one." In short, church history, and, more particularly, church legislation, show that the clergy retained many Heathen charm ceremonies. Priests even manufactured amulets, and practised tree, stone, and water charms, as we learn from the penalization of these customs by the Archbishop Theodore,⁴ and their vigorous condemnation in the sermon of St. Eligius, quoted above.

Beda tells a curious story which throws light on the substitution of Christian for Heathen formulas. A certain soldier, captured in battle, was ordered bound; but the order could not be executed, for the shackles

¹ A good instance of this is found in Beda, li, 13. King Edwin and his high priest, Colfi, have just been addressed by the missionary Paulinus. Colfi, impressed, cries out, "I have long been conscious that there was nothing in the things we worshipped. . . . For which reason, I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefit from them." Also see Gum. p. 342.

² "Exorcista is on Englisc, sē þe mid aſce hālsað þā āwyrgeðan gāstas, þe wyllað menn dreccan, þurh þæs Hælandes naman, þæt hŷ menn forlæton." — *Ælfric's Canones*, x.

³ An interesting English charm, just such a one as a Church exorcist might have remodelled from an older Saxon incantation, appears in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, lines 294 ff., *The Complete Works of Chaucer* (ed. W. W. Skeat), vol. iv.

"Ther-with the night-apel seyde he anon-rightes
On the foure halves of the hous aboute,
And on the threshold of the dore withoute:

'Jesu Crist, and seynt Benedight,
Bless this hous from every wikked wight,
For nightes verye, the white paternoster!
Where wentestow, seynt Petres soster?'"

Skeat believes *verye* to be cognate with AS. *wearg* (= "accursed thing").

⁴ See law No. 24, p. 142, and *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 8 (*A. L.* 292).

invariably fell off when those who bound him retired. Bond-loosing spells being of the commonest in Germanic folk-lore,¹ the prisoner was taxed with availing himself of one of those devices. He denied this, but said that the marvel might be owing to the masses which a brother of his, a priest, — who doubtless supposed him killed, — was probably saying for his soul. On his return to his own country, the former captive learned that “*Illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse vincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata solemnia,*” the bonds had been generally loosed at those times when mass had been celebrated for him.² A similar story in the *Kristnisaga* tells of a bishop who recited Christian spells over a stone where a “family spirit” was thought to be confined. The formulas proved efficacious, for the stone was mysteriously rent asunder.³

It must not be forgotten that the laws which condemn the participation of priests in the ceremonies of our Heathen ancestors represent the crystallized sentiment of a later period. In the early proselytizing church there was no such manifest sentiment. But from the beginning there appeared, sporadically, zealots who censured the intermixture, by priests, of Christian and infidel rites. St. Eligius was one of the first to read his brethren a lecture; the letters of Boniface present another instance. As time went on and the Church tightened its grasp on the minds of men, more and more drastic measures were taken to extrude Heathenism from Christian worship. Punishment was rigorously meted out to priests who took part in incantatory songs in connection with the dead;⁴ and other traditional customs which the clergy had been permitted to countenance, began to be deprecated. Since time immemorial, dancing had accompanied field and harvest celebrations. In compliance with its early policy of concession, the Church had permitted this Heathen custom to become part of religious ceremonials at harvest festivals. The practice became so popular that nuns are reported as dancing in a church, and councils were constrained to severely censure the abuse.⁵ How far the clergy mingled the old rites with the new, we can somewhat estimate when we learn that even Dunstan was accused of sorcery, and that he “loved the vain songs of ancient heathendom, the trifling legends, the funeral chants.”⁶ The ecclesiastical authorities were finally driven to issue peremptory condemnations of clerical partiality to such evident forms of heathendom as charm songs and amulets. A penitential of the Archbishop Theodore, bearing on this subject, has already been cited.⁷

¹ For example, the famous Merseburg bond spell.

² Bede, iv, 20; the same story with different names is narrated in *Ælfr. Hom.* II, 358.

³ C. P. B. I, 416.

⁴ J. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1846), I, 326.

⁵ Pfannenschmidt, 489 ff.; see law of AS. Church against dancing in *Pen. Theo.* xxxviii, 9.

⁶ Gum. 470.

⁷ Law No. 24, p. 142.

Another, by the same prelate, reads, "Non licet clericos vel laicos, magos aut incantatores existere, aut facere phylacteria, quæ animarum suarum vincula comprobentur; eos autem qui his utuntur, ab ecclesia pelli præcipimus."¹

An examination of the Christian elements in the Old English charms can now be profitably pursued. Remembering what has before been emphasized, that the rites of exorcism came to be assumed by the clerical profession, it will readily be understood how the Æsir, the Valkyries, and the semi-divine heroes of Germanic mythology were degraded to the level of evil spirits,² and invocations to them condemned as demon-worship. The divinities who, from their golden palaces across the rainbow bridge in Asgard, ruled the Teutonic imagination, must have been subjected to repeated appeals in the spells of their worshippers. Yet only six of the charms preserve such an appeal,³ and in only one of these six does the name of a major deity, Woden, occur.⁴ Plainly, the Christian exorcists must have replaced the old Heathen titles with the names we now find in the Saxon spells — names of the Godhead, or of some member of the earthly or celestial hierarchy. Instructions from the papal throne to the priesthood frequently embraced the matter of these changes. A German manuscript of the thirteenth century contains specific directions to pastors for dealing with popular charm remedies and for altering names in invocations to the autochthonic gods.⁵

This kind of substitution became general in Teutonic folk-lore. No longer were the wind-elves implored for succor in a storm: petitions were addressed to the saints, known in this capacity as *wasser heilige*, that is, water-saints.⁶ The semi-divine white women whose appearance betokened good fortune to their beholders, were, in later legends, changed to nuns.⁷ In a Scandinavian song dating from the tenth century, Christ, like Thor of old, was acclaimed the conqueror of mountain giants, and his throne was placed at the sacred fount of the Norns.⁸ Not the least striking of these changes was that of blessing with the sign of the cross, where the sign of the hammer had been the old German mark of consecration. The spells themselves are not lacking in evidences of these replacements. A case in point is furnished by several Christianized versions of the famous Merseburg dislocation spell.⁹ For example: —

¹ *Pan. Theo.* xxvii, 8 (A. L. 292).

² In charm A 1, for instance; see also Grimm, iii, 401, for coupling of demons and gods.

³ A 1, A 4, A 13, A 16, B 4, B 5.

⁴ In two other charms, A 18, A 19, non-English gods are invoked.

⁵ See Grimm, iii, 413: "*Hier-umb ist den so ratenna*," etc.

⁶ Grimm, iii, 182.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii, viii.

⁸ Meyer, 437.

⁹ This spell is printed in *Denkm.* i, 16. Translated, it reads, —

"Phol and Woden rode to forest
Where sprained was the foot of Balder's foot.

"Our Lord rade, his foal's foot slade;
Down he lighted, his foal's foot righted.
Bone to bone, sinew to sinew,
Blood to blood, flesh to flesh:
Heal in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."¹

This and other Christian versions are plainly related to the Old High German charm, the principal modern changes being the invariable substitution of the words "Jesus," "Lord," or "God" for the names "Woden," "Phol," "Sindgund," "Frija," and "Volla."²

The Old English charms may now be examined for instances of the replacement of Heathen names by Christian ones. God — rarely the Almighty, once the Holy Ghost,³ more frequently Christ — is most often invoked or referred to.⁴ The four evangelists are called upon in six charms,⁵ generally collectively; while in A 14 they are also specifically appealed to, — Matthew to be the helmet of the suppliant, Mark his breastplate, Luke his sword, and John his shield. The Heathen notion of God's kingdom as a military power can easily be recognized in these suggestive metaphors. Suppliants further invoke the Virgin Mary:⁶ and many entreaties are variously addressed to the twelve apostles; to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph; to David; to Eve, Hannah, Elizabeth, and Sarah; to the angelic kindred; to the host of Seraphim; to two individual but nameless angels; to the seven sleepers; and to the following saints, — Veronica, Helena, Columba, Stephen, Machutus, Vitricius, Nicasius, Patrick, and Paul.

The substitutions were by no means confined to names. Christian ritual was boldly introduced in the charms to replace Heathen rites. Making the sign of the cross naturally became a favorite observance in magical remedies. Crosses were sometimes made of wood, as in A 13, with sacred names written on each end. As the hammer had been the æsir's might against wicked dwarfs and giants, so now the cross symbolized the all-conquering power of God against devils and evil spirits.

Then Sindgund charmed it, and Senna, her sister;
Then Volla charmed it, and Frija, her sister;
Then Woden charmed it, who could charm it well:
'Leg luxation, and blood luxation, and limb luxation,
Bone to bone, blood to blood,
Limb to limb as they were glued together.'"⁷

¹ W. Chambers, *Fireside Stories*, 129.

² In the following Swiss nursery rhyme, the three Marys are probably substitutions for the Norns or Fates: —

"Rite, rite rüell, ze Bade stot e schlüessli,
ze Bade stot e güldi bus, es lieged drit Marre drue.
die eint spinnt side, die ander schüttelt chride,
die drit schnit haberstrau; bbüet mer Gott mis chindli an!"

Grimm, I, 345, note 3.

³ Viz., in A 14.

⁴ Viz., in A 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22; B 3, 4; D 8; E 1; AA 4, 6, 8, 13; DD 19, 20; EE 1, 31.

⁵ Viz., A 13, 14, 17, 18; C 3; and AA 13.

⁶ Viz., A 13, 14.

Crosses were accordingly made on various parts of the body — on the forehead, the limbs, the tongue, the breast, and the arm — to drive the demons out.¹ To give a flavor of Christianity to the herbal hodge-podges which had long been brewed according to Heathen recipes, the exorcist added holy water or a little frankincense.² Once, in EE 20, oil hallowed for use in extreme unction is prescribed as a salve for epilepsy,³ and the consecrated wine used in the communion service is deemed sufficient to hallow the herbal mixture against elf-possession in charm BB 3. The use, for medicinal purposes, of oil, wine, and water, sanctified, not by cabalistic spells, but by priestly benediction, received the encouragement of the Church, as we learn from St. Eligius. The good Bishop warns the sick man to avoid enchanters, and faithfully to "seek consecrated oil from the church . . . and the Lord shall raise him up."⁴

Vernacular incantations, like Heathen rites, were summarily condemned; and, as in the case of the latter, substitutes were officially designated for the former. The twenty-third Penitential of Archbishop Egbert⁵ expressly forbids the gathering of herbs with charms, and adds that Paternosters, Creeds, or "other holy prayers," may be used instead. This demand was very generally complied with. Liturgical formulas of all kinds abound in the Old English spells, — prayers, songs, litanies, psalms, Paternosters, hymns, masses, and exorcismal phrases not included in these categories. Such formulas have crept into all types of charms; and while they have sometimes replaced the older incantations, the latter have occasionally been retained with the Christian pieces interpolated. An instance of this is furnished by charm A 13, where the Tersanctus, the Benedicite, and the Magnificat occur in connection with a spell of unquestionably Pagan composition. When Heathen rites were practised in charm remedies, the superstitious Christian compromised with his conscience by continuing the traditional ceremonial as in charm E 13, but substituting the Latin Creed and Paternoster for the vernacular spell. It was in the formulas recited while gathering herbs that the Old English enchanters gave freest rein to their imaginative vein and their poetic fancies. There survives, most fortunately, a long spell, B 4, from which we can get an excellent idea of the old herbal conjurations. Compare B 4 — which miraculously escaped mutilation by medieval iconoclasts — with B 3, where the Christian metamorphosis is almost complete. The artless narration, the vigorous diction, the spirited movement, have disappeared; and in their places are a tame Benedicite, two litanies, a "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and a

¹ See charms A 13, B 3, E 2, E 6, AA 10, BB 14, EE 5, EE 28.

² See charms B 3, DD 10, EE 10, and BB 8, BB 14.

³ In A 24, oil of unction is also prescribed for smearing crosses in connection with an exorcism of elves.

⁴ Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1841), p. 150.

⁵ See law No. 3, p. 140.

Credo. A favorite liturgical direction for the herb-culling ceremony was the singing of masses. Three, nine, or twelve masses are generally prescribed, although four and seven masses are each called for once. Many other Christian formulas are used, both in spells over herbs and in exorcisms of disease-demons. Interchangeably occur the several litanies, the Athanasian Creed, the "Miserere mei," the "Deus in nomine tuo," the "Domine Deus, inclina domine," and "In nomine patris," the "Deus misereatur nobis." Occasionally Psalms are called for, the sixty-eighth, the ninety-first, and the one hundred and nineteenth being the favorites. None of these has any special appropriateness except the ninety-first, which, oddly enough, is a particularly good specimen of an exorcism.

Of the church prayers employed to replace Heathen spells, the majority are Paternosters,¹ which are prescribed for recital in about one fourth of the charms. Sometimes considerable portions of the church service were held over a sick person or animal, as in AA 7, where several prayers and a benediction, interspersed with two readings from the New Testament, are severally prescribed. Exorcismal prayers were invariably couched in ecclesiastical Latin, and were frequently of great length, like the one in BB 16, intended for an herbal rite, and the one called the "Prayer of St. John," warranted to cure snake-bites.² Special prayers were sometimes designated to replace the Old English spells. Such prayers were officially labelled "Benedictio Herbarum," "Benedictio Potus," or "Benedictio Unguentum," according to their intended use in connection with herbs, medicines, or salves. A "Benedictio Unguentum" reads, "Dominus pater omnipotens et christe iesu fili dei rogo ut mittere digneris benedictionem tuam et medicinam celestem et diuinam protectionem super hoc unguentum ut perficiat ad salutem et ad perfectionem contra omnes egritudines corporum vel omnium membrorum intus vel foris omnibus istud unguentum sumentibus. A. A."³

Though belonging to the group of Heathen jingle charms, the vernacular incantation in B 6 is strangely called a "prayer." The same name is given to the formula in AA 13, which is composed of a jumble of corrupt Greek and Hebrew, of ecclesiastical phrases, and of obscure words of uncertain origin. Sometimes the old charm rites were entirely dispensed with, and only the Latin prayer formula remained. A case in point is the blessing on the fruit of the field, entitled "þis is sēo ðær blētsung:" "Domine deus omnipotens qui fecisti cœlum et terram, tu benedicis fructum istum, in nomine, etc. Amen and Pater-noster."⁴ This Christian benediction may be assumed to have been

¹ Cf. *Sal. and Sal.* (Wülker's *Bibliothek*, iii, 68), where a Paternoster is cited with runic letters to be used as a charm in conflict.

² See Cockayne, ii, 113, 4.

³ See examples in Cockayne, iii, 79 ff., and in the *Durham Ritual*, 115.

⁴ Cockayne, iii, 295.

substituted for a typical Heathen field blessing like the one in charm A 13.¹

Still other Christian formulas lacking a definite liturgical character were frequently put in the place of Old English incantations. In A 24 are several such formulas. One of them reads, "Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium, Byrnice,² Beronice, lurlure, aius, aius, aius, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, amen, alleluiah." A 20 has a curious Latin formula for joint pain: "Malignus obligavit; angelus curavit; dominus salvavit."³ The charms for lost cattle, A 21 and A 22, instruct the exorcist to turn to the east, west, north, and south successively, and each time to say, "Crux Christi ab oriente reducat," or "ab occidente," etc., as the case may be. "Fuge diabolus, Christus te sequitur," is the Christian transformation, in A 23, of what once was plainly an old-fashioned threat spell. Other formulas are the "Crux mihi vita, et tibi mors, inimico," of the erysipelas charm, A 11; the adaptation from John i, 1, in BB 16; the "Solvi iube, Deus e catenis," of AA 9; the "Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram," of A 13; and the rigmarole conjuration in AA 6, "Cristus natus aauis, sanctus a cristus passus aauis, a cristus resurrexit."

Another transformation which the charms underwent in the process of Christianization was one affecting the epic passages. Stories dealing with the feats of northern deities were replaced by excerpts from the New Testament, generally relating to Christ; or by anecdotes in which the Saviour, or one of his disciples, prominently figures. The anecdote charms form a class by themselves, and will be treated in detail later. Exorcismal pieces from the New Testament are usually brief, and are always couched in Latin. In A 15, A 16, A 21, and A 22, the story of the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews forms a part of the conjuration; in DD 19 the crucifixion is again spoken of, with the blame attached to Pontius Pilate; in DD 14 condensed stories of the conception of Christ, of the conception of John the Baptist, and of the resurrection of Lazarus, form integral parts of the spell. Not a story, but a formula with an excerpt from Matthew vii, 7, modifies the distinct Heathenism of the incantation in A 17. The interpolation runs, "Querite et invenientis. Adiuro te per patrem et spiritum sanctum non amplius crescas sed arescas."

Like the exorcismal prayers, sanctification by contact was another ceremony which the Church borrowed from Pagan custom. Among the old Scandinavians, runes were cut on the hilt of a sword or on the side of a drinking-horn, and were then scraped off into ale. Through

¹ Another spell consisting wholly of a prayer is one against quotidian fever (Cockayne, iii, 294). Long exorcismal prayers against variola, etc., are in Cockayne, iii, 78, and in charms BB 3 and AA 11.

² That is, Veronica.

³ The same formula occurs in AA 8.

their contact with sword or horn, the runes were believed to acquire magic virtues, which they transferred to the mead, and in turn to the drinker. In the *Sigrdrifumál*, Sigrdrifa gives Sigurd mead which has thus been filled with useful charms, with potent exorcisms, and with healing runes.¹ The practice was doubtless common to the several Germanic tribes, but the Old English charms preserve it only in its Christian transformation. Housel-dish, church bell, and crucifix are substituted for drinking-horn and sword, and holy writings and psalms for the mystic runes. In an exorcism of fever, BB 16, the directions are to write the first two verses and a half of the first chapter of St. John on a housel-dish, the writing to be thereafter washed off into a certain drink. Similarly, BB 3 requires psalms and texts to be written on the sacramental paten, and then washed off into a bowl of water prepared for an elf-possessed patient. Again, a drink for a "fiend-sick" man is sanctified by mixing it in a church bell;² and in several charms, wholesome concoctions are strengthened by the addition of moss or lichen grown on a crucifix.³

An easy extension of the practices just described consisted in consecrating things by bringing them into direct contact with the church itself. Sods from bewitched land were laid under the altar in order that the power of God might undo the work of demons.⁴ Very generally herbs intended for healing purposes were first taken to church, and placed for a time near or under the communion-table. The patient himself was sometimes admonished to go to church. This occurs in E 1, a charm remedy for delayed birth. The woman is ordered to present herself before the altar, there to utter certain unintelligible phrases, which, though addressed to Christ, smack strongly of Heathendom, and are probably fragments of a well-worn spell once recited to an ancient deity.

It will be seen that sanctity, like magnetic force, could be communicated to articles by contact with things which in their turn had been similarly consecrated. If this was the case, an object which had come, or was believed to have come, from some intrinsically holy place, would naturally be regarded as superlatively hallowed, and endowed with surpassing virtue for the expulsion of fiends. So a charm remedy, E 9, calls for a rind, which, it is specified, must come from Paradise. Of an incantation "against all evils," it is prefaced that "an angel brought this writing from Heaven,"⁵ and the same is asserted of another angel in charm D 10.⁶

¹ *Sigrdrifumál*, 5, 20.

² Charm EE 1.

³ For example, in B 3 and in BB 14.

⁴ See A 13.

⁵ See AA 13.

⁶ The Jew-Christian sect of *Elhesaiten* believed in a holy book said to have fallen from heaven. For other testimony respecting belief in the protecting power of the so-called

With respect to the Christian elements which have been severally enumerated, the Anglo-Saxon charms may be grouped in three divisions, — first, those charms which are virtually Heathen, but have some trifling mark of Christianity added from qualm of conscience, or, more probably, from fear of ecclesiastical punishment; secondly, charms in which Christian and Heathen features stand in fairly equal proportions; lastly, charms which are almost completely or indeed completely Christian in tone and ceremonial. To the first group belong such charms as B 5 and E 10. Both in ceremonial and in formula B 5 is a thoroughly Heathen spell against the "water-elf disease." The words "add holy water" are the only signs of Christian influence in the charm, and are obviously extraneous. The same is true of charm E 10.¹ To the rigmale conjuration in A 10, the one word "Amen" is added, and the same word concludes a typical Pagan fiend-expulsion ceremony in E 3. The addition of frankincense in D 1, E 4, and E 14, and of holy salt in E 8, are the only Christian marks of otherwise infidel spells. Frequently a Paternoster, a text, or some Christian phrase, is interpolated. Thus, a Paternoster in A 8; nine litanies in B 7; as many benedicites in A 9; the phrase "May the Lord help thee!" in A 1; "Through the name of Almighty God," in AA 12; "Shout, the Lord God is my shield," "Misereere mei," etc., in D 10; "Alleluiah!" in B 6; and a few words from Matthew in A 17, — form so many mere appendages to characteristically Pagan spells. Even the *Nine Herbs* charm, B 4, redolent as it is of old Germanic lore, is not without its Christian accessories. These are, "Herbs the Lord created, Holy in Heaven;"² and the phrase "Christ stood over venom."³ DD 8 is an amulet charm, based on many old superstitions. Notice how a Christian flavor is given to the piece by the pretence, made in the last line, that the remedy came from an influential prelate: —

Against Stitch. — "The white stone is powerful against stitch and against infectious illnesses. . . . You must shave it into water and drink a good quantity, and the stones are all very good to drink of against all strange, uncouth things. When fire is struck out of the stone, it is good against lightnings and against thunders and against delusions of every kind. And if a man on a journey has gone astray, let him strike with the stone a spark before himself: he will soon find the right way. All this, Dominus Helias, patriarch at Jerusalem, ordered to be said to King Alfred."⁴

Himmelsbriefe, see Dietrich, 19-27, and Branky, 149 ff. Cf. the Talmudic belief in the book brought to Adam from Heaven.

¹ Also of AA 2; DD 2; EE 2, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21.

² Lines 37 ff.

³ Lines 57 ff.

⁴ Two other Pagan charms in which Church phraseology has been palpably intruded are E 1 and B 2. The former has been mentioned before. The latter is an ancient herbal spell with this inserted direction: "Sign it [i. e. the herb] with the sign of the cross."

Charms in which Christian and Heathen elements are freely mixed form the most numerous of the three divisions. In these charms, the credulous observances and magic spells of Paganism stand obscured by apostolic formulas and dogma; and the names of Jehovah, of Christ, and of the celestial hosts, are strangely coupled with idolatrous titles. A Danish exorcism of devils reads, "A ligger mā paa mi hyver ley, saa souer a paa vor frou Frey. Herud Ragirist! herind, Mari, med Jesu Christ!"¹ Observe the mention, almost in a single breath, of the goddess Freya with Christ and the Virgin Mary. X

An analysis of the spell for bewitched land, A 13, will show to what extent the older rites received the sanction of the early English Church, as well as how greatly the stark Paganism of those rites was modified by Christian dogma. The charm consists of seven well-defined parts. Lines 1-26, comprising the first part, explain the ceremonial to be pursued before reciting the incantatory formula. The ceremonial consists of old Heathen customs practised to insure fruitfulness during the coming year. Sods are cut from the four corners of the field; oil, honey, and yeast, milk of each sort of cattle, and twigs of every kind of soft-wood tree, and parts of all known herbs, are laid on the sods while two Christian formulas are recited and holy water is sprinkled.² This heaping of things on the turfs was an ancient rite symbolizing the desired productiveness.³ The second part, lines 27-39, constitutes an alliterative appeal to God and to Earth to assist in disenchanting the land in question. Despite the frequent mention of the Lord, this piece does not belie its intrinsic Paganism. Substitute the name of Thor for that of God, and the formula becomes a typical Heathen invocation. Further procedure, similar to that in Part I, is prescribed in the third part, lines 40-51. Ancient ceremonies, such as buying seed from beggars, consecrating the plough, and turning the body in the direction of the sun's course, are interspersed with prayers to Christ and to the Virgin, and with chanting the Benedicite, the Tersanctus, and the Magnificat. Then follows the principal incantation in the charm. It extends from line 52 to line 67, and is a Pagan address to "Mother Earth," beseeching her to bless the fields with fertile soil and bountiful crops. The names of the Almighty and of his saints appear to have been inserted by a Christian hand; for they stand side by side with the gibberish formula, "Erce, erce, erce,"⁴ with the mention of the goddess Earth (in the capacity of Ceres), and with a conspicuously Heathen formula against demons, witches, and sorcery. In lines 68-72, the first furrow is cut to the chant-

¹ "I lay me on my right side, so shall I sleep with Lady Freya. Get out, Ragirist! come in, Mary, with Jesus Christ!" — Grimm, *lii*, 506, *liii*.

² Holy water, according to Chanteple 128, was a church substitution for dew.

³ See Mannhardt, 317, for detailed account of Heathen field ceremonial.

⁴ On the meaning of *erce*, see notes to A 13.

by these were not found
 in 1810 I was in A.S. it seemed
 constitute an argument of that old words, demon. etc.

ing of a song to Folde, another name for the goddess Earth. The line "Be fruitful in God's embracing arm" shows admirably the method of toning down the Paganism of the spell. Part VI, lines 73-75, describes an old sacrificial custom which was pursued by the ancient Germans at the first ploughing of their fields, and which terminated the superstitious rites on that occasion.¹ In the charm, the use of holy water is the one Christian addition.

It will be seen that the new religion had wrought many changes in this ancient "*Æcer-bōt*," as it was called. Yet the ecclesiastical censors were not content with their work. They still found many surviving elements of Heathendom, and at these they looked askance. To put the best possible face on the matter, a fourth song was added. It was in the manner and style of the three preceding invocations, but was more decidedly Christian in tone; God, not the earth or the sun, being called upon to grant fruitfulness to the fields. This song, comprising lines 76-83, forms the seventh part, and concludes with the direction, "Then say thrice, 'Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benediciti.' Amen and Paternoster thrice."

A similar admixture of the old rites and the new is found in charms A 14-23, B 3, B 7, C 2, C 3, D 6-11, E 2, 4, 6-9, 13, and in an overwhelming majority of the charms not included in the text. For the most part, the ceremonies prescribed are of superstitious, Pagan nature, while the actual conjurations are Christian. Frequently, portions of church ritual, and, more rarely, fragments of the older incantations, are mingled with the Heathen rites and Catholic liturgy.

In the third class, the ultimate transmogrification of the old spells can best be understood by inspecting the two charms A 24 and B 3.² These are filled with ceremonial directions either perfectly free from the taint of the proscribed beliefs, or so faintly reminiscent of them as not to offend the orthodoxy of the most austere church exorcist. The formulas, which are of course phrased in Latin, are likewise devoid of reproach.

Charm A 24 is an exorcism of elf-hiccough; that is, hiccough caused by elf-possession. The introductory ritual comprises such harmless instructions to the exorcist as noting "whether the eyes are yellow when they should be red," observing the sex of the patient and marking whether the face be a dark yellow or a livid red. In the preparation of an herbal drink which is next prescribed, there is a relic of the older rites in the direction, "Write a cross three times with the oil of unction and say 'Pax Tibi.'" The crosses are first smeared on the stems of the three herbs, just as runes were formerly cut into the stalk; then, as in olden times, stems and markings are worked into the drink. The oil of unction

¹ Mannhardt, 158.

² B 3 is discussed on p. 128 and in the Notes referring to that charm.

is used, so that no doubt of the sanctity of the process may be entertained; but the origin of the observance can be detected, for all that. Four Latin exorcismal prayers are next introduced: they are first to be written down; then two are to be recited over the drink, and two over the patient. The principal spell implores the Almighty to severally and comprehensively eject the mischievous dune-elves from the patient's "head, tongue, palate, throat, jaws, teeth, eyes, nose, ears, hands, neck, arms, heart, soul, knees, hip-bones, feet, and from the whole bodily structure within and without." This chanted, one of the writings which calls for the expulsion of the Devil (and is duly signed with the sign of the cross) is immersed in the herbal drink and soon after taken out, so that with it the sign of the cross may be made on every limb of the patient's body. If the unfortunate man still survives, a blessing — "Signum crucis," etc. — is next recited over him; he is then required frequently to cross himself, and lastly to drink the concoction so laboriously prepared. The singularly elaborate charm closes with the comforting assurance that "this craft" is a remedy for every variety of tribulation which fiends may cause.

Scattered through the manuscripts containing Old English spells are a few curious Christian exorcisms which may be called Latin narrative charms. They appear to have originated in the substitution of biblical or religious stories for the epic passages in the old Germanic incantations; only, whereas these epic narrations served, as a rule, merely to introduce the Heathen spells, the substituted Latin narratives grew more and more detailed and extended, until at length they constituted the main body of the charm, while the formula was abbreviated and reduced to a minor place.¹ The six Latin narrative spells are: AA 4, for toothache; AA 10, for stitch; AA 11, for fever; DD 14, for child-birth; DD 19, for chills and fever; and DD 20, for pocks. They are not included in the printed collection of charms, because of their completely Christian character, and because, aside from the title in most of them and a single direction in one of them,² they are phrased entirely in medieval Latin. Some of them are, however, sufficiently noteworthy to deserve quotation here.

Although so few of the narrative charms have been discovered among Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, there is every reason to believe that the type which they represent was widespread in Germanic countries: for there are not only scores of modern English and German vernacu-

¹ The Latin narratives were presumably introduced by priestly transcribers. But see *Verwendung der Lateinischen Sprache* in M. Müller's *Über die Stilform der Zaubersprüche*, p. 13, where the contention is ably made that some (perhaps all) of these charms were merely Latin transcriptions of spells always recited in the vernacular.

² DD 14, last line.

lar spells containing the precise stories which these contain,¹ but, numberless others with variations on the same themes. The toothache charm will serve as an illustration of this.

"Contra dolorem dentium. Christus super marmoreum sedebat; Petrus tristis ante eum stabat, manum ad maxillam tenebat; et interrogabat eum Dominus dicens, quare tristis es Petre? Respondit Petrus et dixit: 'Domine, dentes mei dolent.' Et Dominus dixit: 'Adiuro te migranea . . . ut non possit diabolus nocere ei nec in dentes nec in aures famulo dei . . . rex pax nax in Christofilio, Amen, Paternoster."

There are numerous modern variants of this charm. One of them, current in Cornwall, England, as late as 1870, follows:—

Charm for Toothache.

"Christ passed by his brother's door,
Saw his brother lying on the floor:
'What aileth thee, brother?'
'Pain in the teeth.'
'Thy teeth shall pain thee no more,
In the name,' " etc."

Similitude, or parallelism between the narrative simile and the result desired,² is the basis of each of these Latin narratives and of their modern descendants. The stories related in the several languages, though differing slightly, are frequently variants of the same themes, the most important of which are the following: (1) the raising of Lazarus; (2) the Longinus story; (3) Mary's conception; (4 *a*) the meeting of Christ and his mother, (4 *b*) the meeting of Christ and some disciple or saint; (5) the legend of the seven sleepers; (6) the intercession of a saint; (7) the crucifixion of Christ; (8) the birth of Jesus and the fame of Bethlehem; (9) the loss of the cross, and its recovery by St. Helena; (10) St. Veronica and the handkerchief; (11) the baptism of the Lord in the Jordan.³

A few of these types, particularly Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, occur in the introductions to some of the regular Anglo-Saxon charms, and have already been referred to. The toothache spell just quoted illustrates type 4 *b*. Type 11 is very common in ME. and MHG. charms; in AS. it appears but once, in AA 18. Types 1 and 3, found separately in many

¹ See *F. L. S.*, *passim*; Ebermann, *passim*; Grimm, iii, 492-508; J. H. Gallée, *Sezensprüche*, in *Germ.* xxxii, 452; and *Germ.* *passim*.

² Hunt, R., *Popular Romances of the West of England* (London, 1896), p. 414. For other variants, see Black, 77.

³ See p. 119.

⁴ Ebermann's book deals with the different types and formulas of Germanic charms. The author finds fourteen of these types; but Nos. 13 and 14 of his grouping are not specific types at all, while Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are really subdivisions of other types. Ebermann naturally gives only the themes which recur frequently. Many theme-parallels drawn from Bible narrative or nomenclature were used perhaps only once. Compare, for example, the *Abraham tibi* formula in A 15.

modern conjurations,¹ are curiously combined in DD 14. The Old English heading is, —

"*Wið wið bearn-æacenn.*" — 'Maria virgo peperit Christum. Elisabet sterilis peperit Johannem Baptistam. Adiuro te infans si es masculus an femina per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut ex eas, et non recedas; et ultra, ei non noceas neque insipientiam illi facias. Amen.

"Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari ad monumentum lacrimatus est coram Judeis, et clamabat: "Lazare, veni foras!" et prodiit, ligatus manibus et pedibus, qui fuerat quadriduanus mortuus.'

"Writ þis on wexe ðe næfre ne cōm tō nānen wyrce, and bind under hire swiðran fōt."

The Lazarus story was very popular with medieval magicians, and has been found in many variations. One of them is a conjuration for removing a bone sticking in the throat: "Look at the patient and say, 'Come up, bone! whether bone of fruit or whatever else it is; as Jesus Christ raised Lazarus from the tomb.'"²

AA 10 illustrates the Longinus charm:

"For a stitch. — Write a cross of Christ, and sing thrice over the place these words and a Paternoster: "Longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.'"

This charm type is found in many medieval manuscripts³ as well as in scores of modern variants. As a rule, however, it is used, not for a stitch, but for stanching blood.⁴

Type 5 is well illustrated by the fever charm AA 11. The legend of the seven sleepers of Ephesus is briefly narrated. Then the Lord is conjured to let his spirit come upon the suppliant, — as it did upon the seven sleepers, — thereby driving out the demon of disease.

In type 6 some saint, prophet, or patriarch — who is reported to have formerly contracted the illness for which a cure is desired — intercedes with the Lord for the cure of fellow-sufferers. Charm DD 20 is an example of this type.

"For pocks."⁵ — St. Nicasius had the small variola, and asked of God that whoever should carry his name written:

"Oh! St. Nicasius, bishop and martyr, pray for me, N., a sinner, and by thy intercession relieve me from this disease."⁶

¹ See, for example, Grimm, iii, 492 ff.

² For pregnant women, i. e. to hasten childbirth.

³ See *Eng. Med.* 132.

⁴ Title and directions are in Anglo-Saxon.

⁵ Also in Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium Medicina*, 44.

⁶ See Ebermann, 42 ff.; and Grimm, iii, 501, xxxii.

⁷ In Anglo-Saxon medicine, *pocks* is used as equivalent to *variola* (see *Eng. Med.* 130).

⁸ All, except the title, in Latin. Old and modern versions of the other types can be found in Ebermann, 1-128; in *Denkm.* i, 15-19; *F. L. S. passim*; in Grimm, iii, 492-508; and in Heilig (*Alemannia*, xxv, 265 ff.; xxvi, 70 and 113 ff.). A MS. at Cambridge University (ii, i, 10, p. 43) has a Latin ecclesiastical "spell" called *Lorica*, with an interlinear

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

[For greater convenience, the abbreviations are arranged in three sections: A, those for MSS. of charms in the text; B, those for editions; C, those for the general works on charm-lore and folk-lore.]

A. MSS.

- Corpus Christi. The Corpus Christi MSS. are from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
- Corpus Christi 41. A MS. of the late tenth century. See Wanley, 114.
- Corpus Christi 190. A MS. of the early eleventh century.
- Corpus Christi 383. A MS. written A. D. 1125-30, described by Lieberman, i, xix.
- Cotton. The Cotton MSS. are all from the British Museum.
- Cotton Caligula A 7. A MS. of the beginning of the eleventh century.
- Cotton Caligula A 15. A MS. of the tenth century.
- Cotton Faustina A x. A MS. of the eleventh century.
- Cotton Julius C. 2. A paper MS. of transcripts. See Cockayne, iii, 286.
- Cotton Tiberius A 3. A MS. of the late eleventh century.
- Cotton Vitellius C iii. A MS. of the late eleventh century. It contains the "Herbarium."
- Cotton Vitellius E xviii. Written about A. D. 1030. See Wanley, 222.
- Harley. The Harleian MSS. are from the British Museum.
- Harley 438. An early seventeenth century transcript of Corpus Christi 190.
- Harley 585. See p. 106.
- Harley 6258 b. See p. 106.
- Hatton 76. An Oxford Bodley MS. of the late eleventh century.
- Junius 85. A one-page Oxford Bodley MS. See Wanley, 44.
- Regius 12 D xvii. See p. 106.

Royal 4 A xiv. A MS. of the eleventh century.

St. John's 17. An Oxford MS. of the eleventh century.

Textus Roffensis. A MS. in Rochester Cathedral, date A. D. 1115-24. See F. Lieberman, *Archæologia Cantiana*, Berlin, 1898.

B. EDITIONS¹

- B. Bouterwek, *Cædmon*.
- Be. Berberich, *Herbarium*.
- Bl. Birch in *Transactions of Royal Soc.*, etc.
- C. Cockayne (17).²
- E. Ettmüller's *Scôpas*.
- G. Grimm (29), 2d ed.
- G⁴. Grimm (29), 4th ed.
- H. Hoops (38).
- K. Kemble, *The Saxons in England*.
- Kl. Klipstein, *Anglo-Saxonica*.
- L. Leonhardi, *Kleinere Aga. Denkm.*
- Le. Leo (44).
- Li. Lieberman, see G. A. (30).
- M. McBryde in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180.
- N. Nyerup in *Suhm's Symbolæ*.
- R. Rieger, *Lesebuch*.
- RT. Rask-Thorpe, *AS. Grammar*.
- S. Sweet, *AS. Reader*.
- Sch. Schlutter, in *Angl.* xxx and xxxi.
- Sd. Schmid (63).
- T. Thorpe, *Analecta*.
- T². Thorpe, A. L. (2).
- W. Wülker, *Bibliothek*.
- WA. Wülker, *Kleinere Aga. Dichtungen*.
- Wan. Wanley, *Antiquæ Literatûre*, etc.
- Wr. Wright, *Reliquiæ*.
- Z. Zupitza in *Angl.* i, 189.
- Z². Zupitza in *ZfdA.* xxxi, 45.

version in AS. There are 89 rhymed lines imploring protection for all parts of the body, which are enumerated in detail. It begins, —

"Suffragare, trinitatis unitas,
unitatis suffragare trinitas,
suffragare quæso mihi posito
maris magui velut in periculo."

For complete text, see Leonhardi, 175 ff.

¹ The full titles of nearly all editions are given in the general survey, pp. 106-109.

² The numbers in parentheses refer to the complete titles in Part C of the Table of Abbreviations, p. 161.

C. GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

1. Aber. Abercromby, John. The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns. 2 vols. London, 1898.
2. A. L. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1840.
3. Angl. Anglia.
4. Archiv. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.
5. AS. Anglo-Saxon.
6. AV. Atharva-Veda Samhita. Trans. by W. D. Whitney, rev. and ed. by C. R. Lanman. 2 vols. (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 7 and 8.) Cambridge, Mass., 1905.
7. Beda, Venerabilis. Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer. Oxford, 1896.
8. Black, W. G. Folk Medicine. (Folk-Lore Society Publications, vol. 12.) London, 1892.
9. Bolton, Henry C. The Counting-out Rhymes of Children. London, 1888.
10. Bradley, Henry. The Song of the Nine Magic Herbs. Archiv, cxlii, 144.
11. Brand, J. Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, ed. W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1870.
12. Branky, F. Himmelsbriefe. (Archiv für Religionswis. v, 149.)
13. Brooke, Stopford A. History of Early English Literature. London, 1892.
14. B.-T. Bosworth-Toller. Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
15. Chantepie. The Religion of the Teutons, by P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Trans. from the Dutch by B. J. Vos. Boston, 1902.
16. Charac. Characteristic; i. e. one of the ten characteristics (see pp. 110 ff.).
17. Cockayne, Thomas O. Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England. 3 vols. London, 1864-66.
18. Comparetti, Domenico. Il Kalevala o, La Poesie Tradizionale dei Finni. Nuova Antologia, vol. 147, 1896.
19. Confess. Ecg. Confessionale Ecgðerti in A. L.
20. C. P. B. G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell. Corpus Poeticum Boreale. 2 vols. Oxford, 1883.
21. Crombie, J. E. Spitting as a Protective Charm. Internat. Folk-Lore Congress, 1891. Transactions, p. 249.
22. Denkm. Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert, ed. K. Müllenhof und W. Scherer. Dritte Ausg. von E. Steinmeyer. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1892.
23. Ebermann, O. Blut- und Wundsaegen. Palæstra, xxiv. Berlin, 1903.
24. Edd. Eddora.
25. Edda, Samundar. Die Lieder der Edda. Hrag. von K. Hildebrand. 2te Aufl. von H. Gering. Paderborn, 1904.
26. Eng. Med. English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times, by Jos. F. Payne. Oxford, 1904.
27. Fischer, A. Aberglaube unter den Angelsachsen. Meiningen, 1891.
28. F. L. S. Publications of the Folk-Lore Society. London.
29. G. Grimm, J. Deutsche Mythologie, 4te. Ausg. von E. H. Meyer. Berlin.
30. G. A. Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, von F. Lieberman, 2 Bde. Halle a. S., 1903.
31. Games and Songs. Games and Songs of American Children, by W. W. Newell. New York, 1903.
32. Gering, H. Die Edda, übersetzt und erläutert. Leipzig, 1892.
33. Germ. Germania.
34. Grdr. Grundriss. H. Paul. Grundriss der germanischen Philologie. 2te. Aufl. 3 Bde. Strassburg, 1901-08.
35. Gum. Gummere, F. B. Germanic Origins. New York, 1892.
36. Henderson, Wm. Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England. (F. L. S. Publications, vol. 2.) London, 1879.
37. Holt. Holthausen, F. Medicinische Gedichte aus einer Stockholmer Ha. Anglia, xviii, 293-331.
38. Hoops, J. Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen. Freiburg i. B., 1889.
39. Hope, Rob't. C. The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England. London, 1893.
40. Kauc. Kauṣika-Sūtra of the AV., ed. Maurice Bloomfield. Jour. Amer. Orien. Soc., vol. xiv. New Haven, Conn., 1843.
41. Kugel, Rudolph. Geschichte der

- deutschen Litteratur. Strassburg, 1894-97.
42. Kuhn, A. Indische und germanische Segensprüche. In *ZfVS.*, xiii, 49 ff. and 113 ff.
 43. Lan. Lore. J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, edd. Lancashire Folk-Lore. London, 1867.
 44. Le. Leo, H. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*. Halle, 1842.
 45. Lieberman. See G. A.
 46. Mannhardt, W. *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*. Berlin, 1875. (In *Wald- und Feldkulte*, erster Teil.)
 47. Meyer, E. H. *Mythologie der Germanen*. Strassburg, 1903.
 48. M. L. N. *Modern Language Notes*.
 49. Müller, Martin. *Über die Stilform der altdeutschen Zaubersprüche bis 1300*. Gotha, 1901.
 50. Nord. Myth. P. Herman, *Nordische Mythologie*. Leipzig, 1903.
 51. OHG. *Old High German*.
 52. ON. *Old Norse*.
 53. OS. *Old Saxon*.
 54. P. B. B. Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*.
 55. P. C. Tylor, E. B. *Primitive Culture*. 2 vols. New York, 1889.
 56. Pettigrew, T. J. *Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine*. London, 1844.
 57. Pfannenschmid, H. *Germanische Erntefeste im Leidnischen Kultus*. Hannover, 1868.
 58. Pœn. Ecg. *Pœnitentiale Ecgberti* in A. L.
 59. Pœn. Theo. *Theodori Liber Pœnitentialis* in A. L.
 60. Prin. of Soc. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*. 3 vols. London, 1885.
 61. RA. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Reichsalterthümer*. Hrg. Andreas Heusler and Rudolph Hübner. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1899.
 62. Sal. and Sat. Salomon and Saturn, in *Wülker, Bibliothek*, iii, 58-82.
 63. Schmid, Reinhold. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. 2te Aufl. Leipzig, 1858.
 64. Ten Brink, B. *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*. Hrg. A. Brandl. Strassburg, 1899.
 65. Waitz, T. *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1859.
 66. *Waldbäume*. J. Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum*. Strassburg, 1905.
 67. WG. R. P. Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Literatur*. Leipzig, 1885.
 68. Wilken, E. *Die Prosaische Edda*. Paderborn, 1877.
 69. Wuttke, A. *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*. Dritte Bearbeitung von E. H. Meyer. Berlin, 1900.
 70. *ZfdA. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*.
 71. *ZfVk. Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*.
 72. *ZfVS. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

LIST OF CHARMS NOT IN THE TEXT¹

AA.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. To cure cattle. Sch. (<i>Anglia</i> , xxx, 240). | 8. For rheumatism. L., 148, xcix. |
| 2. For lung disease in cattle. C., i, 388. | 9. Against barrenness. L., 148, xcvi. |
| 3. Against theft of cattle. C., i, 392. | 10. For a stitch. C., i, 393. |
| 4. Contra dolorum dentium. L., 148, c. | 11. Contra febres. C., iii, 294. |
| 5. For black ulcers (ad carbunculum). L., 138, liii. | 12. For a fever. C., iii, 295. |
| 6. For erysipelas. L., 139, lvii. | 13. Against every strange evil. (Sê engel brohte . . .) C., iii, 288. |
| 7. If a horse has been [elf] shot. L., 148, xcvi. | 14. For a fever. F. Holthausen in <i>Archiv</i> , xcix, 424. |
| | 15. For a fever. A. Napier in <i>Archiv</i> , lxxix, 324. |

¹ This list includes all the AS. charms not printed in this article, but referred to in the introductory discussion. The latest text of each charm is given. For the editors, see Table of Abbreviations, B, p. 160.

16. Against a dwarf (i. e. against convulsion, see Group E, p. 137).
Archiv, lxxiv, 323.
17. For nose-bleed. Archiv, lxxiv, 323.
18. Against thieves. R. Priebech in Academy (1896) No. 1255, p. 428 (a verse formula not included in the text owing to the late stage of the language).

BB.

1. For dysentery. L., 88, lines 17-25.
2. For a carbuncle. L., 109, LXXI.
3. Against elfin influence. L., 126, XI.
4. To make a holy salve.
L., 131-134, XXIX-XXXIII.
5. The plucking of sea-holly.
C., i, 318, CLXXXIII.
6. For the dry-disease (inflamed swelling).
L., 35, XLVII.
7. For insanity (Wiß wēdenheorte).
L., 42, lines 14-21.
8. Against sudden sicknesses (þonne is sē æpelesta læcedōm . . .).
L., 89, lines 23-34.
9. For insanity. L., 108, LXVIII.
10. Against a worm or hemorrhoid.
L., 137, XLVII.
11. Against hail and rough weather.
C., i, 308, CLXXVI.
12. For flux of blood. C., i, 330, 5.
13. For every evil (includes a remedy for knot). C., i, 326.2-330.4 inclusive.
14. For elf-disease (nightmare).
L., 105, LXII.
15. For the "dry disease" (inflamed swelling).
L., 108, LXVI.
16. For chills and fever.
L., 41, lines 16-33.

CC.

1. For eye pain. C., i, 362, 4.
2. For a swelling. L., 32, lines 11-16.

DD.

1. Against loss of bees. C., i, 397.
2. For indigestion. L., 43, LXVII.
3. For a lunatic. C., i, 100, X, 2.
4. For insanity. C., i, 170, LXVI, 2.
5. To prevent being barked at.
C., i, 170, LXVII, 2.
6. Against enchantment and fear.
C., i, 174, LXXIII, 1 and 2.

7. For a fever. C., i, 362, 12.
8. Against stitch.
L., 87, lines 34-35; and 88, lines 1-8.
9. To hasten child-birth. L., 100, XXXVII.
10. For an elf-shot horse. L., 141, LX.
11. If a woman turn dumb.
L., 146, LXXXVIII.
12. For an elf-shot horse.
L., 47, lines 18-21.
13. For an issue of blood in a woman.
C., i, 322, 6 and 7.
14. To hasten childbirth. C., i, 392.
15. Against nocturnal demons. C., i, 70, 1.
16. Against robbers. C., i, 176, LXXIV.
17. Against snake-bite. C., i, 198, 14.
18. For speedy childbirth.
C., i, 218, CIV, 2.
19. For chills and fever (*contra frigora*).
C., iii, 294.
20. For pocks or variola.
C., iii, 295.

EE.

1. For a maniac. L., 42, lines 1-14.
2. For idiocy. L., 43, LXVI.
3. For intestinal distention. L., 55, v.
4. For the half dead disease (i. e. hemiplegia, see Eng. Med. 43).
L., 85, lines 29-36.
5. For sudden illness.
L., 89, lines 16-18.
6. Against a poisonous drink.
L., 103, XLIII.
7. For palsy. L., 103, lines 16-31.
8. Against nocturnal demons.
L., 104, LIV.
9. Against elf-disease.
L., 106, lines 8-19.
10. Against a devil. L., 107, LXIV.
11. For the devil-sick (i. e. the insane).
L., 108, LXVII.
12. Against a pestilence among cattle.
L., 144, LXXVIII.
13. Against lung-disease among cattle.
L., 144, LXXXIX.
14. Against sudden pestilence among sheep.
L., 145, LXXX.
15. For an adder bite and against [elf] shots.
L., 34, lines 3-5.
16. For a snake-bite. L., 34, lines 15-36.
17. For an intestinal worm. L., 38, LIII.
18. For a headache. L., 7, lines 10-11.
19. For dropsy. C., i, 364, 18.
20. For epilepsy. L., 90, lines 3-7.
21. For ague. L., 41, lines 12-15.

22. Against a ring-worm.

L., 38, lines 14-17.

23. If a man eat a poisonous plant.

L., 46, LXXXIV.

24. For strength in combat. L., 46, LXXXV.

25. Against a sorceress. L., 42, lines 24-29

26. For dyspepsia. L., 59, lines 7-12.

27. For an elf-shot horse.

L., 47, lines 22-23.

28. For dumbness and idiocy.

L., 87, lines 18-22.

29. Against the temptations of demons and against elfin influence.

L., 102, lines 7-19.

30. To cure a crooked or deformed head.

L., 104, LV.

31. For good health and against a demon's temptations. L., 89, lines 18-22.

TEXTS¹

A 1. WID FÆRSTICE

Fæferfuige and sēo rēade netele, ðe þurh ærn inwyxð, and 175a
wegbræde; wyll in buteran.

Hlūde wæran hȳ, lā hlūde, ðā hȳ ofer þone hlāw ridan;
wæran ānmōde, ðā hȳ ofer land ridan.

5 Scyld ðū ðe nū; þū ðysne nið genesan mōte!

Ūt, lȳtel spere, gif hēr inne sīe!

Stōd under linde, under leohtum scylde,

þær ðā mihtigan wif hyra mægen | beræddon

and hȳ gyllende gāras sēndan.

10 Ic him oðerne eft wille sēndan;

fīeogende flanne forane tōgēanes.

Ūt, lȳtel spere, gif hit hēr inne sȳ!

Sæt smið, slōh seax lytel,

. . . Iserna wund swiðe.

15 Ūt, lȳtel spere, gif hēr inne sȳ!

Syx smiðas sātān, wælspera worhtan.

Ūt, spere, næs in, spere!

Gif hēr inne sȳ Isenes dæl,

hægtessan geweorc, hit sceal gemyltan!

20 Gif ðū wære on fell scoten, oððe wære on flæsc scoten,

oððe wære on blōd scōten, [oððe wære on bān scoten],

oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne sȳ ðīn lif ātæsed!

Gif hit wære ēsa gescot, oððe hit wære | ylfa gescot,

oððe hit wære hægtessan gescot, nū ic wille ðīn helpān.

25 Þis ðe tō bōte ēsa gescotes, ðis ðe tō bōte ylfa gescotes,

A 1. — 1. G., E., S. fæferfuge; R. fæferfugie (L. febrifugia). Wr., B., R. hærn. S. inn-wy-xð. — 2. Edd. *except* Wr., R., S., W. wegbræde. Edd. *except* Wr., R., C., W. wyll. E. adds cveð þonne. — 3. G., K., E., B. wæron and ridon. Similarly, throughout the charm, these Edd. change *preterite ending an* to *on*. — 4. E., R. eard for land. — 5. G., E. þu þe nu þa, þiane; K. ðu ðiane; B. þe, nu þu þyane; R. believes half a line to be missing after nu, and begins next line þæt þu; S. inserts [þæt] between nu and þu. — 7. E. stod ec? — 9. G., K., E., B. sendon here, and sēndan, line 10. — 10. B. oðere. — 11. G.,

¹ The numbers of the notes accompanying the text refer to the line numbers of the corresponding charms. Numbers in the right-hand margin refer to pages of the MSS.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EDITIONS¹

- | | | |
|---|------------------------|--|
| 1. Wanley, 1705. | 10. Ettmüller, 1850. | 19. Walker, A., 1882. |
| 2. Nyerup, 1787. | 11. Bouterwek, 1854. | 20. Wülker, 1883. |
| 3. Thorpe, 1834. | 12. Schmid, 1858. | 21. Zupitza, 1887 (abbr. Z ⁷). |
| 4. Thorpe, 1840. (abbr. T ⁹). | 13. Rieger, 1861. | 22. Hoops, 1889. |
| 5. Wright, 1841. | 14. Cockayne, 1864. | 23. Berberich, 1902. |
| 6. Leo, 1842. | 15. Rask-Thorpe, 1865. | 24. Leonhardt, 1905. |
| 7. Grimm, 1844. ² | 16. Sweet, 1876. | 25. McBryde, 1906. |
| 8. Kemble, 1849. | 17. Zupitza, 1878. | 26. Schlutter, 1908. |
| 9. Klipstein, 1849. | 18. Birch, 1878. | |

TRANSLATIONS³

A 1. FOR A SUDDEN STITCH

[Take] feverfew⁴ and the red nettle which grows through the ^{crops}house,
and plantain; boil in butter.

Loud were they, O loud, when o'er the hill they rode;
Infuriate were they when o'er the land they rode.
Now shield thyself, that thou this onslaught mayst survive!
Out, little spear, if herein thou be!
'Neath linden I stood, a light shield beneath,
Where mighty dames their potent arts prepared
And sent⁵ their whizzing spears.
Another will I send them back:
A flying arrow right against them.
Out, little spear, if herein it be!
Sat the smith, forged his little knife,
... with iron [blows] sore wounded.⁶
Out, little spear, if herein it be!
Six smiths sat, war-spears they wrought.
Out, spear, not in, spear!
If herein be aught of iron,
Work of witches, it shall melt!
Wert thou shot in skin, or wert shot in flesh,
Or wert shot in blood, or wert shot in bone,
Or wert shot in limb, may ne'er thy life be scathed!
If it were shot of gods, or it were shot of elves,
Or it were shot of hags, now thee I'll help.
This for relief from shot of gods, this for relief from shot of elves,

K., E. flæn; B., C., S. flane. — 12. G., K., E., B. *omit* hit. Wr. *omits* her. G., E. *alc.* —
13. C. *ends the line after seax.* — 14. S. *iserne.* B. *vunde.* — 15. G., E., B. *alc.* — 16.
G., E. *seax.* — 17. B. *nea.* G., E., B., S. *inn.* — 18. Edd. *except* K., C., S., W. *iserne.* —
19. C. *sceall.* — 22. C. *þære for were.* B. *lic for lif.* G., E. *si.* — 24. Wr. *hefan*; E. *ic*
þin helpan ville.

¹ For full titles, see Table of Abbreviations, B, p. 160.

² But A 15, A 16, A 21, and B 2 first appeared in the fourth ed., 1875.

³ Words supplied, or not literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon, appear in brackets.

⁴ Also called "wild camomile."

⁵ That is, beaten with hammers.

ðis ðe tō bōte hægtessan gescotes: ic ðin wille helpan.
 Flēoh þær on fyrgen, [sēo þā flāne sende]!
 Hēafde hāl westu! Helpe ðin drihten!

Nim þonne þæt seax, ādō on wātan.

A 2. WIÐ DWEORH

Man sceal niman VII lýtle oflætān, swylce man mid ofrað, 167a
 and writtan þās naman on ælcra oflætān: Maximianus, Mal-
 chus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Sera-
 fion. Þænne eft, þæt galdor þæt hēr-æfter cweð, man sceal
 5 singan, ærest on þæt wynstre ēare, þænne on þæt swiðre ēare,
 þænne ufan þæs mannes moldan. And gā þænne ān mæden-
 man tō, and hō hit on his swēoran and dō man swā þrȳ da-
 gas: him bið sōna sēl.

Hēr cōm in gangan, in spīder wiht,
 10 hæfde hīn his haman on handa.
 Cwæð þæt þū his hancgest wære.
 Legeþ hē his tēage an swēoran.
 Ongunnan him of þām lande lifan.
 Sōna swā hȳ of þām lande cōman,
 15 þā ongunnan hīm þā cōlian.
 Þā cōm ingangan dēores sweostar.
 Þā geændade hēo and āðas swōr/
 ðæt nāfre þis ðām ādlegan derian ne mōste,
 ne þām þe þis galdor begytan mihte,
 20 oððe þe þis galdor ongalan cūþe.
 Amen, fiat.

A 3. WIÐ WENNUM

Wenne, wenne, wenchighenne, 23a
 hēr ne scealt þū timbrien, ne nenne tūn habben
 ac þū scealt north-eonene tō þan nihgan berhge
 þēr þū hauest ermig ēnne brōþer.
 5 Hē þe sceal legge lēaf et hēafde
 Under fōt wolues, under ueþer earnes,
 under earnes clēa, ā þū geweornie.
 Clinge þū alswā col on heorþe.
 Scring þū alswā scearn āwāge,
 10 and weorne alswā weter on ambre.
 Swā litel þū gewurþe alswā linsētcorn,
 and miccli lēsse alswā ānes handwumes hupebān,
 and alswā litel þū gewurþe þet þū nāwiht gewurþe.

A 1. — 26. E., R. ic pin helpan ville. — 27. MS., Wr. fied þf on fyrgen hæfde halwestu;
 G., E. Fleo þær on fyrgen, seo þone flān sceat (sende)! K., C. Fled þor on fyrgen!
 heafde (C. hæfde) halwes tu; B. Fleo þær on fyrgen, seo þa flane sende! oð heafde hal
 vestu! R. Fleo þær on fyrgen . . . hæfde hal westu; S. Fleo on fyrgenheafde; hal
 wes-tu! W. Fleoh þær on fyrgen . . . hæfde hal westu. — 29. W. erroneously quotes:
 K. wætere.

This for relief from shot of hags: thee will I help.
Yonder to the mountain flee [hag, who sent the dart]!
Be hale in head! Help thee the Lord!

Then take the knife, plunge it into the liquid.

A 2. AGAINST A DWARF

You must take seven little wafers, such as are used in worship, and write these names on each wafer: Maximianus, Malchus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Then again, you must sing the charm which is stated below, first into the left ear, then into the right ear, then over the man's head. And then let a virgin go to him, and hang it on his neck, and do this for three days. He will soon be well.

Stump 293-5

"Here came a spider wight a-walking in,
He had his harness in his hand.
Quoth that thou his blood-horse wert.
He puts his traces on thy neck.
They from the strand began to sail.
As soon as from the land they came,
They then began to cool.
The sister of the beast then came a-walking in.
Then she ceased and swore these oaths:
That this should never scathe the sick,
Nor him who might this charm acquire,
Nor him who could this charm intone.
Amen, *fat*."

A 3. AGAINST WENS

Wen, wen, little wen,
Here you shall not build, nor any dwelling have,
But forth you must, even to the near-by hill,
Where a poor wretch, a brother you have;
He shall lay you a leaf at your head.
Under the wolf's foot, under the eagle's wing,
Under the eagle's claw — ever may you wither! —
Shrivel as the coal upon the hearth!
Shrink as the muck in the stream,
And dwindle even as water in a pail!
May you become as little as a linseed grain,
And much smaller, likewise, than a hand-worm's hip-bone!
And even so small may you become, that you become as nought.

- A 2. — C., W. weorh. — 6. MS., W. hufan. — 12. MS., C., W. lege þe his teagean. — 15. MS. *ðah* *interlined after him*; W. þa [ðah] colian; Sch. þa ongann an him þ. haþ acolian.
— 17. W. joins þa g. heo to line 16, and and a. swor to line 18. — 21. MS., C. fað.
A 3. — 3. Bi. uorth. Bi. eouene. — 6. MS., Z². uolmes; Bi. uoluues. — 9. MS., Bi. sceane awage. — 10. Bi., Z². anbren. — 13. Bi. wet for þet.

A 4. WID YMBE

Nim eorþan, oferweorþ mid þīnre swiþran handa under 202a
þīnum swiþran fēt and cweð:

- 5 Fō ic under fōt; funde ic hit.
Hwæt, eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwilce,
and wið andan and wið æminde,
and wið þā micelan mannes tungan.

Forweorþ ofer grēot, þonne hī swirman, and cweð:

- 10 Sitte gē, sigewif, sīgað tō eorþan,
næfre gē wilde tō wudu flogan!
Bēo gē swā gemindige mīnes gōdes,
swā bið manna gehwilc metes and ēþeles.

A 5. WID WYRME

Wið ðon þe mon oððe nýten wyrm gedrince, gyf hyt sý 136b
wæpnedcynnes, sing ðis lēoð in þæt swiðre ċare þe hēr æfter
awriten is; gif hit sý wifcynnes, sing in þæt wynstre ċare:

- 5 Gonomil orgomil marbumil,
marbsairamum tofeð tengo,
docuillo biran cuiðær,
cæfmil scuiht cuillo scuiht,
cuið duill marbsiramum.

- 10 Sing nygon|siðan in þæt ċare þis galdor, and Paternoster 137a
æne. þis ylce galdor mæg mon singan wið smēogan wyrme;
sing gelōme on þā dolh and mid ðīnan spātīe smyre, and genim
grēne curmeallan, cnuca, lege on þæt dolh and beðe mid hāttre
cūmicgan.

A 6. WID ÞEOFENTUM

Wið þeofentum:

- 5 Luben luben niga 178a
| efið efið niga 178b
fel ceid fel,
delf cumer fel
orcgaeci ceufor dard,
giug farig fidig
delou delupih.

A 4. — G. cvið ymbe. — 1. G. þīne. — 2. G., C., Z. cwet. — 3. G. fet. — 7. MS., Edd.
except S., Z. and wið on forweorþ; Z. and wiððon (wiðon) forweorþ. G. his virman. —
9. C. næfra. G. ville. C. tu. G., K., R., C., S. wuda. K. flogan.
A 5. — 4. MS., C., L. print lines 4-8 in prose form.

A 4. AGAINST A SWARM OF BEES¹

Take earth, with your right hand throw it under your right foot, and say, —

"I take under foot; I have located it.
Lo, earth is potent against every sort of creature,
And against hatred and against forgetfulness,
And against the mighty spell² of man."

Throw gravel over them when they swarm, and say, —

"Alight, victory-dames, sink to the ground!
Never fly wild to the woodland!
Be as mindful of my profit
As is every man of food and home."

A 5. FOR A WORM

In case a person or a beast drink up a worm, if it be of the male sex, sing the spell, which is hereinafter written, in the [victim's] right ear; if it be of the female sex, sing it in the left ear: —

"Gonomil orgomil marbumil,
marbsairamum tofeð teng,
docuillo biran cuiðær,
cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht,
cuib duill marbsairamum."

Sing this charm nine times in the ear, and the Paternoster once. This same charm may be sung against an intestinal worm; sing it frequently on the wound, and smear the latter with your spittle, and take green centaury, pound it, lay it on the wound, and bathe with hot cow's urine.

A 6. AGAINST THEFTS

Against thefts: —

"Luben luben niga
efið efið niga
fel ceid fel,
delf cumer fel
orcgaci ceufor dard,
giug farig fidig
delou delupih."

A 6. — 2. Lines 2-3 are printed in *prose* form by C., L. — 3. C., L. efið niga efið — 7. MS., C. pidig; L. widig.

¹ That is, to stop bees from swarming.

² Literally, the tongue.

A 7. WID CORN

Dis mæg horse wið þon þe him bið corn on þā fēt:

182a

| Geneon genetron genitul
catalon care trist pābist
etmic forrune, naht ic forrune
nequis annua maris
scāna nequetando.

182b

5

A 8. WID ŪTSIHT

Dis man sceal singan nigon sýþon wiþ ūtsiht on ān hrēren- 116a
bræden æg, þrý dagas:

+ Ecce dolgola nedit dudum
bethecunda bræthecunda
elecunda eleuahge
macte me erenum
ortha fueþa
lata uis leti unda
noeuis terræ dulgedoþ.

5

10 Paternoster oþ ende; and cweþ symle æt þām drore huic ðis.

A 9. WID CYRNEL

Neogone wæran Noþþas sweoster;
þā wurdon þā nygone tō VIII
and þā VIII tō VII
and þā VII tō VI
and þā VI tō V
and þā V tō IIII
and þā IIII tō III
and þā III tō II
and þā II tō I
and þā I tō nānum.

182a

5

10

þis þē lib bē cyrneles and scrōfelles and weormes and æg-
hwylces yfeles. Sing benedicite nygon sifum.

A 10. WID TÔÐECE

Sing ðis wið tōðece, syððan sunne bēo on setle, swiðe oft: 135b
"Caio laio quaque, uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wyrm."
Nemne hēr þone man and his fæder, cweð þonne: "Lilumenne,
æceð þæt ofer eall þonne ālið; cōliað, þonne hit on eorðan
5 hātost byrneð; finit, amen."

A 7. — 2. MS., C., L. *print lines 2-6 in prose.*

A 8. — 3. MS., C. *writes lines 3-9 in prose form.* — 6. C. *elenum.*

A 9. — 1. MS., Edd. *all print this charm in prose.* — 6. L. IV, *likewise in line 7.* —
11. K. libbe cyrneles and scrofellef. MS., C. weormeþ; C. *emends* wyrmea.

A 7. FOR CORNS

This will cure a horse if it should have corns on its feet:—

"Geneon genetron genitul
catalon care trist pābist
etmic forrune, naht ic forrune
nequis annua maris
scāna nequetando."

A 8. FOR DIARRHOEA

For diarrhoea this is to be sung on a soft-boiled egg nine times for three days:—

"Ecce dolgola nedit dudum
bethecunda bræthecunda
elecunda eleuahge
macte me erenum
ortha fuepa
lata uis leti unda
noeuis terræ dulgedop."

Paternoster to the end; and repeatedly say this three times near the blood.

A 9. FOR A KERNEL¹

Nine were Noththe's sisters;
then the nine came to be VIII
and the VIII to VII
and the VII to VI
and the VI to V
and the V to IV
and the IV to III
and the III to II
and the II to I
and the I to nothing.

MS. 10. Little
in stem.

This will free you from kernel and scrofula and worm and misery of every kind. Sing *Benedicite* nine times.

A 10. FOR TOOTHACHE

For toothache, sing the following very often after sunset: "Caio laio quaque, uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wurm." Then name the man and his father, next say: "*Lilumenne*, it aches beyond telling when he lies down; it cools when on earth it burns most fiercely; *finit*, amen."

A 10. — 1. C. write for swite. — 3. MS. fæd. — 5. MS. fintamen.

¹ That is, a swelling, or a scrofulous gland. See *Eng. Med.* 136.

A 11. WID HORS ŌMAN

Wið hors ōman and mannes, sing þis þriwa nygan siðan, on 186a
 æfen and on morgen, on þæs mannes hēafod ufan and horse
 on þæt wynstre ēare on yrnendum wātere, and wend þæt
 hēafod ongēan strēam:

- 5 In domo mamosin inchora meoti. otimimeoti quoddealde
 otuuotiuā et marethin. Crux mihi uita et tibi mors | inimico; 186b
 alfa et o, initium et finis, dicit dominus.

A 12. WID ŌMAN

Genim āne grēne gyrde and læt sittan þone man onmiddan 186b
 hūses flōre and bestric hine ymbūtan and cweð:

O pars et o rillia pars et pars iniopia est alfa et o initium.

A 13. ÆCER-BŌT

Hēr ys sēo bōt, hū ðū meah t þīne æceras bētan, gif hī nellaþ 171a
 wel wexan oþþe þær hwilc ungedēfe þing ungedōn bið, on drý
 oððe on lyblāce.

- Genim þonne on niht, ær hyt dagige, fēower tyrf on fēower
 5 healfa þæs landes and gemearca, hū hy ær stōdon. Nim þonne
 ele and hunig and beorman and ælces fēos meolc, þe on þām
 lande sý, and ælces trēowcynnes dæl, þe on þām lande sý
 gewexen, būtan heardan bēaman, and ælcra namcūpre wyrte
 dæl, būtan glappan ānon; and dō þonne hālig-wāter ðæron,
 10 and drype þonne þriwa on þone staðol þāra turfa and cweþe
 þonne ðās word: "*Crescite, wexe, et multiplicamini*, and gemæ-
 nigfealda, *et replete*, and gefylle, *terram*, þās eorðan. *In*
nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis bene|dicti." And 171b
 Paternoster [swā oft swā þæt ððer.]

- 15 And bere siþþan ðā turf tō circean, and mæsseprēost āsinge
 fēower mæssan ofer þan turf on, and wende man þæt grēne to
 ðan wēofode, and siþþan gebringe man þā turf þær hī ær
 wæron ær sunnan setlgange. And hæbbe him gæworht, of
 cwicbēame, fēower Cristes-mælo and āwrite [on ælcon ende,]
 20 Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Johannes. Lege þæt
 Cristes-mæl on þone pyt neopeweardne, cweðe ðonne: "*Crux*
Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Johannes."
 Nim ðonne þā turf and sete ðær ufon on and cweðe ðonne
 nigon siþon þās word: *Crescite*, and [swā oft *Paternoster*,] and

A 11. — 6. K. el marethin. K. e tibi. MS., K., C., L. inimici.

A 12. — 2. L. cweðo. — 3. K. rilli A. K. 6 for est.

A 11. FOR ERYSIPELAS

For erysipelas on horse and man, sing the following, thrice nine times, evenings and mornings, on top of the man's head and in the horse's left ear, in running water, and turn his head against the stream:—

"In domo mamosin inchorna meoti. oðimimeoti quoddealde otuotua et marethin. Crux mihi uita et tibi mors inimico; alfa et o, initium et finis, dicit dominus."

A 12. FOR ERYSIPELAS

Take a green stick and have the man sit in the middle of the floor of the house, and make a stroke around him, and say, —

"O pars et o rillia pars, et pars inopia est; alfa et o, initium."

A 13. LAND-REMEDY

Here is the remedy with which you can amend your fields, if they are not sufficiently fruitful, or if, through sorcery or witchcraft, they suffer any harm.¹

At night, before daybreak, take four sods from four sides of the land, and note how they previously stood. Then take oil and honey and barm, and milk of all cattle on the land, and part of every kind of tree growing on the land, except hard trees, and part of every known herb except burdock alone; and put holy water thereon, and then sprinkle [holy water] thrice on the bottom of the sods, and then say these words: "*Crescite*, grow, *et multiplicamini*, and multiply, *et replete*, and replenish, *terram*, the earth. *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis benedicti*." And *Paternoster* as often as the other.

And then take the sods to church, and have a mass-priest sing four masses over the sods, and have the green part turned towards the altar; and thereafter, before sunset, take the sods where they were at first. And let [the land-owner] have made for him four crosses of aspen-wood, and write on each end, *Matthew* and *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*. Lay the cross on the bottom of the hole, then say: "Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Johannes." Next take the sods and put them down upon [the crosses], and then say these words nine times: "*Crescite*,"

A 13. — 2. G., E. veaxan. — 6. E. þam. — 7. E. þam. — 8. G., E. geveaxen. E. beamon. — 11. G., E. veaxe; K. waxe. Edd. *except* C., W. gemænigfealde. — 12. MS., K., C. terre. — 13. MS., K., C., RT. sit; G., E., R. *omit* sitis; W. sint (or sitis). — 15. G. messepreost. — 16. G. messan. G., E. þam. — 17. G., K., E. þam. — 18. G., K., E., R., RT. geworht. — 20. MS., K., W. Matheus; the same in line 22. — 22. G., E., R. *omit* sanctus. — 23. G., K. sette; R. sæte.

¹ Literally, or if any evil thing is done [to them] by sorcery or witchcraft.

25 wende þē þonne ēastweard and onlūt nigon siðon ēadmōdlice
and cweð ðonne þās word:

Ēastweard ic stande, ārena ic mē bidde,
bidde ic ðone mǣran domine, bidde ðone miclan drihten,
| bidde ic ðone hālgan heofonrices weard, .

172a

30 eorðan ic bidde and ūpheofon,
and ȝā sōþan sancta Marian,
and heofones meaht and hēahreced
þæt ic mōte þis gealdor mid gifē drihtnes
tōðum ontȳnan; þurh trumne geþanc
35 āweccan þās wæstmas[ūs tō woruldnytte,]
gefyllan þās foldan mid fæste geleafan,
wlitigian þās wancgturf; swā sē witega cwæð
þæt sē hæfde āre on eorþrice, sē þe almyssan
dæide dōmlice,[drihtnes þances.]

40 Wende þē þonne III sunganges, āstrece þē þonne on andlang
and ārim þēr lētanlas; and cweð þonne: *Sanctus, sanctus,*
sanctus, [þp ende.] Sing þonne *Benedicite* āpenedon earmon
and *Magnificat* and *Paternoster* III, and bebēod hit Criste and
[sancta Marian] and þære hālgan rōde tō lofe and tō weorþinga

45 and þām[tō āre] þe þæt land āge, and eallon | þām | þe him under- 172b
ðeodde synt.] ðonne þæt eall sie gedōn, þonne nime man uncūþ
sæd æt ælmesmannum, and selle him twā swylc, swylce man
æt him nime. And gegaderie ealle his sulhgetēogo tōgædere;
borige þonne on þām bēame stōr and finol and gehālgode
50 sāpan and gehālgod sealt. Nim þonne þæt sæd, sete on þas
sūles bodig, cweð þonne:

Erce, Erce, Erce, eorþan mōdor,
geunne þē sē alwalda, ēce drihten
æcera wexendra and wridendra,
55 æcniendra and elniendra,]
sceafta scīra hersewæstma,
and þære brādan berewæstma,
and þære hwītan hwætewæstma,
and ealra eorþan wæstma.

60 Geunne him ēce drihten
and his hālige, þe on heofonum synt,
þæt hys yrþ sī gefriþod wið ealra fēonda gewæne,
and hēo sī geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,
þāra lyblāca geond land sāwen.

A. 13. — 25. E., R. eaðmodlice. — 28. G., E., R. dryhten for domine, and ic after the second bidde. — 32. G. heofenes. — 36. MS., K., C., RT. gefylle. — 37. G., E., R., RT. wlitigian. G., E., R. wangturf; K. wangcturf. — 38. K. eorðan. — 40. MS., C. omits the second þe. G., K. astrece (ȝe). — 43. R. omits III. — 45. MS., C. omits tō; W. and are þam, þe. — 46. G. si. — 47. K. omits and selle . . . nime. — 49. R. berne for borige. R. þan. — 51. G., K. sulhes. — 54. G., E. wexendra. G., E., R., RT. wriðendra. — 56. MS., K., RT. hen se scire wæstma; G. scaef tæce se scira wæstma; E.

and as often a *Paternoster*; and thereupon turn to the east and bow reverently nine times, and then say these words:—

“Eastward I stand, for blessings I pray,
I pray the mighty Lord, I pray the potent Prince,
I pray the holy Guardian of the celestial realm,
Earth I pray, and Heaven above,
And the just and saintly Mary,
And Heaven’s power and Temple high,
That I, by grace of God, this spell
May with my teeth dissolve; with steadfast will
[May] raise up harvests for our earthly need,
Fill these meadows by a constant faith,
Beautify these farm-turfs; as the prophet said
That he on earth had favor who his alms
Apportioned wisely, obedient to God’s will.”

Then turn thrice with the course of the sun, prostrate yourself completely, and say then the litanies; and thereafter say, “*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*,” to the end. With arms outstretched then sing the *Benedicite* and *Magnificat* and *Paternoster* thrice, and commend it¹ to the praise and glory of Christ and Saint Mary and the Holy Rood, and to the benefit of him who owns the land, and of all those who are [under him.] When all this is done, let unknown seed be taken from beggars, and let twice as much be given to these as was taken from them. And let [the land-owner] gather all his ploughing-implements together, then bore a hole in the beam, [and place therein] incense and fennel and hallowed soap and hallowed salt. Next take the seed, put it on the body of the plough, then say,—

“Erce, erce, erce, mother of Earth,
May the Almighty, the eternal Lord, grant you
Fields flourishing and bountiful,
Fruitful and sustaining,
Abundance of bright millet-harvests,
And of broad barley-harvests,
And of white wheat-harvests,
And all the harvests of the earth!
Grant him, O Eternal Lord,
And his saints in Heaven that be,
That his farm be kept from every foe,
And guarded from each harmful thing
Of witchcrafts sown throughout the land.

sceaf tahne se scira; R. sceafta heara scire; C. pisse for hen se; W. sceafta herica, scire.—59. R. suggests interpolating arena after corpan.—60. R. supplies se alvalda after him.—61. MS. eodonum.—62. K. 6is yrð.—63. R. heom. K. gehuylc.—64. R., C. insert þe after para. R. lyblacan.

¹ The prayer, “Eastward I stand,” etc.

- 65 |Nū ic bidde ðone waldend sē ðe ðās woruld gescēop, 173a
 þæt ne sý nān tō þæs cwíðol wíf ne tō þæs cræftig man,
 þæt āwenden ne mæge word þus gecwedene.

þonne man þā sulh forð drife and þā forman furh onscēote.
 Cweð þonne:

- 70 Hāl wes þū, folde, fira mōdor,
 bēo þū grōwende on godes fæþme,
 fōðre gefylled fírum tō nytte.

Nim þonne ælces cynnes melo, and ābacæ man innewerdre
 handa brādnæ hlāf, and gecned hine mid meolce and mid
 75 hāligwātere, and lecge under þā forman furh. Cwepe þonne:

- Ful æcer fōðres fira cinne,
 beorht-blōwende, þū geblētsod weorþ
 þæs hāligan noman, þe ðās heofon gescēop
 and ðās eorþan, þe wē on lifiaþ.
 80 Sē god, sē þās grundas geworhte, geunne us grōwende gife,
 þæt us corna gehwylc cume tō nytte.

Cweð þonne III: *Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti.*
Amen and Paternoster priwa.

A 14. SĪDGALDOR

- Ic mē on þisse gyrde belūce, and on godes helde bebōde 350
 wið þane sāra stice, wið þane sāra slege,
 wið ðane grymman gryre,
 wið ðane micelan egsan, þe bið ēghwām lāð,
 5 and wið eal þæt lāð, þe intō land fare.
 Sygegealdor ic begale, sigegyrd ic mē wege,
 wordsige and-worcsige. Sē mē dēge:
 ne mē merra gemyrre, ne mē maga ne geswence,
 ne mē nāfre mīnum fēore forht ne gewurpe;
 10 ac gehæle mē ælmihtig and sunu and frōfregāst,
 ealles wuldres wyrdig dryhten,
 |swā swā ic gehýrde, heofna scyppende. 351
 Abrame and Isace, Iacob and Iosep
 and swilce men, Moyses and Dauit,
 15 and Evan and Annan and Elizabet,
 Saharie and ēc Marie, mōdur Cristes,
 and ēac þā gebrōðru, Petrus and Paulus,

A 13. — 65. G., E., R., RT. bidde ic. RT. þene. G. vealdend. G., K. veoruld. — 66. R. omits nan. — 67. MS., K. worud. — 73. Edd. except K., C. abace. MS., K., C. inne-
 werdne; G., E. inneveardre. — 74. G., K., E. bradne. — 75. Edd. except K., C., W.
 cweð. — 78. G. naman. — 80. E. þe þas. G. geveorhte. R. grovendre. — 82. MS., K.,
 C., RT. sit; G., E., R. omits sitis; W. sint (sitis?).

A 14. — 2. C. wípp . . . sice; W. erroneously gives MS. wípp. MS., Wan., G., C. sice.
 E. searsetice . . . sarlege. — 3. MS., Wan., G., C. grymma; E. grimman. — 4. G., E.
 æghwam MS., Wan., G., C. micela egsa; E. miclan. — 5. G., E. lande. — 6. G., E.

Now I pray the Prince who shaped this world,
That no witch so artful, nor seer so cunning be
[That e'er] may overturn the words hereto pronounced."

Then drive forth the plough and make the first furrow. Then say, —

"All hail, Earth, mother of men!
Be fruitful in God's embracing arm,
Filled with food for the needs of men."

Then take meal of every kind, and have a loaf baked as big as will lie in the hand, and knead it with milk and with holy water, and lay it under the first furrow. Say then, —

"Full field of food for the race of man,
Brightly blooming, be you blessed
In the holy name of Him who shaped
Heaven, and earth whereon we dwell.
May God, who made these grounds, grant growing gifts,
That all our grain may come to use!"

Then say thrice, "*Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti. Amen,*" and *Paternoster* thrice.

A 14. A JOURNEY SPELL ✓

I protect myself with this rod,¹ and commend myself to the grace of God,
Against the grievous stitch, against the dire stroke of disease,
Against the grewsome horror,
Against the frightful terror loathsome to all men,
Against all evil, too, that may invade this land.
A victory-charm I chant, a victory-rod I bear:
Word victory and work victory. May they potent be:
That no nightmare demon vex me nor belly fiend afflict me,
Nor ever for my life fear come upon me.
But may the Almighty guard me, and the Son and Holy Ghost,
The Sovereign worthy of completest splendor,
And, as I heard, Creator of the skies.
Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Joseph
And such men, Moses and David,
And Eve and Hannah and Elizabeth,
Sarah and Mary, Christ's mother, too,
And the brothers, likewise, Peter and Paul.

sige-gealdor. — 7. G., E. veorcsige. E. me vel dege. — 8. MS., Wan., G., C. ne me merne. — 9. Wan. forth. — 10. Wan. gehele. MS., Wan., C. ælmihtigi; E. se ælmihtiga. MS., Wan., G., E., C. omit and after sunu; E. his sunu. — 11. Wan. wuldre. E. wyrðig. — 13. MS., Edd. Abrame and isace and swilce men moyses and iacob and daut and iosep; G., E. Abrahame; E. Moises; E., W. make three lines out of the passage: line 1 ends Isace; line 2, Iacob; line 3, Iosep. — 16. E. ec. — 17. C. omits this line. Wan., G. pæ.

¹ A cross?

- and ðac þusend þira engla
clipige ic mē tō ðre wið eallum fēondum.
- 20 HI mē ferion and friþion and mīne fore nerion,
eal mē gehealdon, mē gewældon,
worces stīrende; sī mē wuldres hyht,
hand ofer hēafod, hāligra rōf,
sigerōfra | scēote, sōðfæstra engla.
- 25 Biddu ealle bliðum mōde, þæt mē bēo Matheus helm,
Marcus byrne, leoht-līfes rōf,
Lucas mīn swurd, scearp and scirecg,
scyld Iohannes, wuldre gewlitigod wega Serafin.
- Forð ic gefare, frīnd ic gemēte,
30 eall engla blāð, ðadiges lāre.
Bidde ic nū sigeres god, godes miltse,
sīðfæt gōdne, smyltne and lihtne,
wind weropum. Windas gefrān,
circinde wæter. Simble gehælede
- 35 wið eallum | fēondum. Frēond ic gemēte wið,
þæt ic on þæs ælmihtian, on his frið wunian mōte,
belocen wiþ þām lāþan, sē mē līfes ðht,
on engla blāð gestapelod,
and innan hālre hand heofna rīces blāð,
- 40 þa hwīle þe ic on þis life wunian mōte. Amen.

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A 15. WID FĒOS LYRE

I

Gif feoh sý underfangen, gif hit hors sý, sing on his fetcran 103
oppe on his brīdele. Gif hit sý oðer feoh, sing on þæt fōtspor
and ontend þrēo candela and dryp on þæt hofræc þæt wex
þriwa. Ne mæg hit þē nān mann forhēlan. Gif hit sý innorf,
5 sing þonne on fēower healfes þæs hūses and æne on middan :

"Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa
est. Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes, concludat; Job et flu-
mina; [Jacob te] ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. Jūdēas Christ
ahēngon; þæt heom cōm tō wīte swā strangum. Gedydon heom
10 dāda þā wirrestan; hý þæt drōfe onguldōn. Hēlan hit heom
tō hearne micclum: for þām hī hīf forhēlan ne mihtan."

- A 14. — 18. C. ðusenð; W. *erroneously* gives MS. ðusenð. E. pyrra. MS. þiraenglacclipige.
— 20. E. me frīþjan and ferjan. Wan., G. fere nerion; E. fere nerjan. — 21. MS. Wan.,
G., E. men gewældon; C. *changes* men to meh. — 22. Wan., C. warces; C. storende;
E. weorces styrende; W. *erroneously* has: MS. warces storende. — 23. E. reaf? — 25.
MS. and Edd. *except* E. hand ofer hēafod *after* beo. MS., Wan., G., E., C. bliðu; W.
bliðe? C. mattheus. — 27. MS. lucos; C. locos; W. Locas. MS. scerþ. — 28. G., E.
Serafin. — 29. E. frynd. — 31. MS., Wan., G., C. nu sigere godes miltse god; E. nu
god sigores, godes miltse; W. *sams* as E. *except* sigeres. — 32. MS., Wan., G., C. smylte
and lihte; E. smilte and lyhte; W. *erroneously* has MS. swylte. — 33. MS., Wan., G., E.,
C. werepum; W. wederum. — 34. W. cyrrende? MS., Wan. simbli gehalepe; G., E. sim-
blige hæledbe; C. simble gehalepe; W. simblege halepe. — 35. G., E., feordum. —

And also thousands of the angels
I invoke to succor me against all fiends.
May they strengthen me and cherish me and preserve me in life's course,
Wholly protect and control me,
Guiding my actions; may I have hope of glory,
Hand over head, [and reach the] choir of saints,
Realm of the triumphant, of the faithful angels.
Blithe of mood, I pray that Matthew be my helmet,
Mark be my hauberk, a bright life's covering,
Luke be my sword, sharp and keen-edged,
My shield be John, transfigured with glory, the Seraph of journeys.¹

Forth I wander, friends I shall find,
All the encouragement of angels through the teaching of the blessed.
Victory's God I now beseech, and the favor of the Lord
For a happy journey, for a mild and gentle
Wafting² from these shores: since the [savage] winds, I know, [beget]
The whirling waters. Then, ever preserved
Against all fiends, may I meet with friends,
That I may dwell in the Almighty's sheltering care,
Guarded from the loathsome fiend who seeks my life,
Established in the glory of the angels,
And in the bliss of the kingdom of Heaven
The while I am permitted upon this earth to dwell. Amen.

A 15. FOR LOSS OF CATTLE

I

If live stock be stolen: if it be a horse, sing [the charm] on his fetters or on his bridle. If it be other live stock, sing [it] on the footprints and light three candles and thrice dip the wax on the hoof-mark. No man shall be able to conceal the theft. If it be household stuff, then sing [the charm] on the four sides of the house and once in the middle:—

"Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa est. Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes, concludat; Job et flumina; [Jacob te] ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. The Jews hanged Christ; that brought upon them a punishment equally severe. They did the worst of deeds to him; they paid the penalty with their expulsion. They concealed it to their great injury: seeing that conceal it they could not."

36. MS., Wan., G. *pis ælmihtigan*; E. *þæs ælmihtigan*. G., E. *omit* on his *frið wunian*; E. are mote. — 37. Wan., G., C., W. *belocun*. MS., Wan., G., E. *þa*. E. *si me lifes aht*; G. *lifes*. — 38. MS., Wan., G., E. *bla blæd*. — 39. MS., Wan., G., C. *inna*. *All except* E., W. *hofna*. C. *suggests excision of blæd*. — 40. Wan., C., W. *omit pis*; E. *þys*.

A 15. — 1. *Rof. undernumen*. M. *gif hit sy hors*. — 2. *Rof. bridela*. — 3. M. III. *for þreo*. *Rof.*, M. *hofrec*. *Rof. omits þæt befora wez*. — 4. *Rof. omits nan*. *Rof. manna*; M. *man*. *Rof. inorf*, and *omits þonne*. — 5. *All except* *Rof.*, G. *omit Jacob te*. — 6. M. *ahengan*. *Tib. witene*. *Tib. irangan*; M. *strangan*. M. *gedydan*. *Rof. him*. — 7. *Jul. wirstan*; M. *wyrrestan*. *Rof. forguldon*. *Rof.*, M. *hælon*. *Rof. him*; M. *omits heom*. — 8. C. *þam [þe] hi*. *Jul.*, *Rof.* and *heo hit na forhelan ne mihton*.

¹ That is, of those who journey.

² Wind.

II

- Hit becwæð and becwæl sē ðe hit āhte
 mid fullan folcrichte, swā swā hit his yldran
 mid fēo and mid fēore richte begēaton.
 15 And lētan and lāfdan ðām tō gewælde
 ðe hȳ wel ūðan. And swā ic hit hæbbe
 swā hit sē sealde ðe tō syllanne āhte
 unbryde and unforboden. And ic āgnian wille
 tō āgenre æhte ðæt ðæt ic hæbbe
 20 and nāfre ðē myntan: ne plot ne plōh,
 ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fōtmæl,
 ne land ne lāsse, ne fersc ne mersc,
 ne rūh ne rūm, wudes ne feldes,
 landes ne strandes, wealtes ne wāteres;
 25 būtan ðæt lāste ðe hwile ðe ic libbe.
 Forðām nis āni man on life
 ðe æfre gehyrde ðæt man cwydde oððon crafode
 hine on hundrede, oððon āhwār on gemōte,
 on cēapstōwe oþþe on cyricware ðā hwile þe hē lifede.
 30 Unsac hē wæs on life, bēo on legere, swā swā hē mōte.
 Dō swā ic lāre: bēo ðū be ðinum,
 and lēt mē be minum; ne gyrne ic ðines,
 ne lāðes ne landes, ne sace ne sōcne,
 ne ðū mines ne ðearft, ne mynte ic ðē nān þing.

A 16. WID FĒOS NIMUNGE

- Ne forstolen ne forholen nānuht, þæs ðe ic āge, þe mā ðe 226
 mihte Herod ūrne drihten. Ic geþōhte sancte Eadelenan and ic
 geþōhte Crist on rōde āhangen; swā ic þence ðis feoh tō fin-
 danne næs tō oþfeorrganne, and tō witanne næs tō oðwyrceanne,
 5 and tō lufianne næs tō oðlæddanne.

- Garmund, godes ðegen,
 find þæt feoh and fere þæt feoh,
 and hafa þæt feoh and heald þæt feoh,
 and fere hām þæt feoh,
 10 þæt hē nāfre nabbe landes, þæt hē hit oðlæde,
 ne foldan, þæt hē hit oðferie,
 ne hūsa, þæt hē hit oðhealde.

A 15. — 12. Edd. except Leo and M. print Part II. in *pross*. — 13. Jul. folcricht. —
 14. C., M. begēatan. — 15. C., M. lētan. — 16. Roß. vpan. — 18. Roß. wylle. —
 19. C., M. ahte. — 20. Roß., C., M. ðæt yntan for ðe myntan. — 22. Roß., C., M.
 lāse. — 23. Jul. wuherum. — 24. C., M. sandes for landes. — 25. Roß. ðæhwile; Jul.,
 C., M. ða. — 26. B. nis æt tinan; Roß., Jul. inse tman; C., M. forðam [ðe] [n] is æs
 man. — 27. C. cwidde; M. cwīððe. — 28. B., Sd. hundrede. — 29. Jul., C., M. omið
 þe. C., M. lifde; Leo, lifede. — 31. B., Roß., Leo, Sd. ðe for ðu. — 32. Roß. ine forme.
 Leo, girne. — 34. Jul., C., M. ðearft; Sd. pearfst.

II

He bequeathed it and died who possessed [the land]
 With full legal title,¹ as his forefathers
 With money and with services lawfully acquired it,
 And surrendered and bequeathed it to his control
 To whom they freely gave it. And so I hold it
 As he disposed of it — who had the right to give —
 Unopposed and unforbidden. And I shall claim
 As rightful property whate'er I have,
 And never for you design: nor plot nor plow,
 Nor sod nor homestead, nor furrow nor foot-mark,
 Nor land nor leasow, nor fresh water nor marsh,
 Nor uncleared nor cleared ground, of forest nor of field,
 Of land nor of strand, of wold nor of water;
 But this stay mine the while I live.
 For there is no man living
 Who ever heard that any one made claim or summoned
 Him² before the hundred court, or anywhere to council
 In market place or in church congregation while he lived:
 As he, in life, was guiltless, so let him be in death, even as he should.
 Act as I admonish: stay with yours
 And leave me with mine; nothing of yours do I desire:
 Neither lea nor land, nor privilege nor right;
 Neither you need mine, nor do I design anything for you.

A 16. FOR THEFT OF CATTLE

May nothing I own be stolen or hidden any more than Herod could
 [steal or hide] our Lord. I thought of St. Helena and I thought of Christ
 suspended on the cross; so I hope to find my cattle, and not have them
 borne off, and be informed [of their whereabouts], and not have them
 injured and have kindness shown to them, and not have them led astray.

Garmund, servitor of God,
 Find those kine, and fetch those kine,
 And have those kine and hold those kine,
 And bring home those kine,
 That he never may have land to lead them to,
 Nor fields to fetch them to,
 Nor houses to confine them in.

A 16. — 1. Wan. ageþenape; G. ne for pe, after age. — 2. MS., C. drihen. G. Ead Elenan.
 — 4. Wan. ofþeorr ganne; G. oþfeorganne; C. of þeorr ganne. — 6. Wan. ðegend. —
 8. Wan. hufa. — 10. Wan., G. n'æbbe. Wan. hitaþ læde. — 11. MS., Wan., C. f. hit
 oþferie; G. omits he hit. — 12. MS., Wan. hit oþ hit healde; G., C., W. omit the second
 hit.

¹ Literally, full right according to common law.

² The protester.

15

Gyf hyt hwā gedō, ne gedige hit him næfre!
 Binnan þrȳm nihtum cunne ic his mihta,
 his mægen and his mundcræftas.
 Eall hē weornige, swā fyr wudu weornie,
 swā breðel þeo, swā þystel,
 sē ðe þis feoh oðfergean þence.
 oððe ðis orf oðehtian ðence! Amen.

A 17. WIÐ ÐĀ BLACAN BLĒGENE

Sing ðis gebed on ðā blacan blēgene VIII sȳpan; ærest Pater- 136a
 noster:

5

10

Tigað tigað tigað
 calicet aclu,
 cluel sedes adcloles
 acre earcre arnem;
 nonabiuð ær ærnem,
 niðren arcum cunað arcum,
 arctua fligara uflen
 binchi cutern nicuparam,
 raf afð egal uflen
 arta arta arta
 trauncula trauncula.

Querite et inuenietis. Adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiri-
 15 tum sanctum. Non amplius | crescas sed arescas super aspidem 136b
 et basilliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem.
 Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes.

A 18. WIÐ LENCTENĀÐLE

Eft, drenc wið lenctenāðle: fēferfūge, hramgealla, finul, 53a
 wegbrāde; gesinge mon fela mæssan ofer þære wyrta, ofgēot
 mid ealað, dō hāligwæter on, wyl swiþe wel. Drince þonne,
 swā hē hātost mæge micelne scenc fulne, ær þon sio ādl tō
 5 wille. Fēower godspellara naman and gealdor and gebed:

+++	Matheus	++	Marcus	++	Lucas
+++		+++		+++	
+++	Johannes	+	+		
+++		+++	+	+	

intercedite pro me. Tiecon, Le-
 leloth, patron, adiuro uos.

Eft godcund gebed:

10 In nomine domini sit benedictum, Beroniçe, Beronicen. Et 824
 habet in uestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et
 dominus dominantium.

A. 16. — 13. G. gif hit. Wan. gedon, egedige. G. has no punctuation after næfre. —
 15. MS., Wan., G., C., W. mægen [and his mihta] and his m. — 16. MS. syer; Wan.
 syen wudu weorme; G. sva er wudu; C. fyr (or fyr). — 18. G. hia.

Should any man so act, may he thereby never prosper!
 Within three days his powers I'll know,
 His skill and his protecting crafts!
 May he be quite destroyed, as fire destroyeth wood,
 As bramble or as thistle injures thigh,
 He who may be planning to bear away these cattle
 Or purposing to drive away these kine.

A 17. FOR BLACK ULCERS

Sing the following prayer nine times on black ulcers; first [saying] a Paternoster:—

“Tigað tigað tigað
 calicet aciu,
 cluel sedes adclocles
 acre earcre arnem;
 nonabiuð ær ærnem,
 niðren arcum cunað arcum,
 arctua figara uflen
 binchi cutern nicuparam,
 raf afð egal uflen
 arta arta arta
 trauncula trauncula.”

“Querite et inuenietis. Adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Non amplius crescas sed arescas super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannea.”

A 18. AGAINST AGUE

Again, a drink against ague: feverfew, ram-gall, fennel, plaintain; have many masses sung over the herbs, moisten them with ale, add holy water, boil very thoroughly. Then let [the patient] drink a great cup full, as hot as he can, before the illness come upon him. [Recite] the names of the four gospels and a charm and a prayer:—

+++	Matheus	++	Marcus	++	Lucas
+++	Johannes	++	intercedite pro me. Tiecon, Leleloth,		

patron, adiuro uos.”

Then a holy prayer:—

“In nomine domini sit benedictum, Beronice, Beronice. Et habet in uestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et dominus dominantium.”

A 17. — 1. L. IX. MS., L. syðan; C. sipan (or sipum). — 3. MS., C., L. print lines 3 to 13 in prose. — 5. L. adclocles. — 12. L. omits the third arta.

A 18. — 2. MS., C., L. wyte. — 6. MS., C. L. Marcus. MS., C. Lucas. — 10. C. Jn.

Eft godcund gebed:

In nomine domini summi sit benedictum. ✠MMRMþ.

15 NandþTX✠ MREwNandþTX.

A 19. WID HORS-WRECCUNGE

Gif hors bið gewræht, þonne scealt þū cweþan þās word: 181b
 |“Naborrede, unde uenisti,” tribus uicibus; “credidi prop- 182a
 ter,” tribus uicibus. “Alpha et o, initium et finis, crux mihi uita
 est et tibi mors inimico;” Paternoster.

A 20. WID LIÐWÆRCE

Wið liðwærce, sing VIIII sifum þis gealdor þær on and þin 116a
 spātl spīw on:
 Malignus obligauit, angelus curauit, dominus saluauit.
 Him biþ sōna sēl.

A 21. WID CĒAPES ÞĒOFENDE

Dis man sceal cweðan, ðonne his cēapa hwilcne man forsto- 216
 lenne. Cwyð ær þū ænyg ðer word cweðe:

Bethlem hāttæ sēo burh, ðe Crīst on geboren wes;
 sēo is gemærsod ofer ealne middangeard.

5 Swā ðeos dæd wyrpe for mannum mære,

per crucem Christi. And gebede þe þonne þriwa east and cweð
 þriwa: +Christi ab oriente reducat; and III. west and cweð:
 Crux Christi ab occidente reducat; and III. sūþ and cweð
 þriwa: Crux Christi a meridie reducat; and III. norð and cweð:
 10 Crux Christi abscondita est et inuenta est. Jūdēas Crīst āhen-
 gon; gedidon him dæda þā wyrstan; hælton, þæt hī forhelan ne
 mihton. Swā næfre ðeos dæd forholen ne wyrpe, per crucem
 Christi.

A 22. WID CĒAPES LYRE

Þonne þe mon ærest secge, þæt þin cēap sý losod, þonne cweð 180b
 þū ærest, ær þū elles hwæt cwepe:

Bæðleem hātte sēo buruh,
 þe Crīst on ācænned wæa.

5 Sēo is gemærsad geond ealne middangeard.
 Swā þyos dæd for monnum mære gewurpe
 þurh þā hāligan Crīstes rōde! Amen.

A 18. — 15. C. ✠MMRMþ · N1 · þTX · ✠MMRMþ · N1 · þTX.

A 19. — 4. MS., C., L. mor inimici; C. *emend*s mors inimice? inimico?

A 20. — 1. L. IX.

A 21. — 1. Wan. forstelenne; G. foartelenne. — 2. MS., Wan., G. cyð. MS., Wan. he

Once more a holy prayer:—

"In nomine domini summi sit benedictum. ✕MMRMp. Nandp-TX✕ MREwNandpTX."

A 19. FOR A HORSE'S SPRAIN

If a horse is foundered, then you must say these words:—

"Naborrede, unde uenisti," tribus uicibus; "credidi propter," tribus uicibus. "Alpha et o, initium et finis, crux mihi uita est et tibi mors inimico;" Paternoster.

A 20. FOR PAIN IN THE LIMBS

For pain in the limbs sing nine times the following charm thereon, and spit your spittle on [the place affected]:—

"Malignus obligavit, angelus curavit, dominus saluavit."

He will soon be well.

A 21. FOR THEFT OF CATTLE

The following is to be sung by a person when some one has stolen any of his cattle. Before you utter any other word, say,—

"Bethlehem was called the town wherein Christ was born;

Renowned it is through all the world.

So may this act among men become well-known,

per crucem Christi." Then pray three times toward the east and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab oriente reducat;*" and three times west, and say: "*Crux Christi ab occidente reducat;*" and three times south, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi a meridie reducat;*" and three times north, and say: "*Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est.* The Jews crucified Christ, they did the worst of deeds to him; they hid what they could not hide. So may this deed never be hidden, *per crucem Christi.*"

A 22. FOR LOSS OF CATTLE

As soon as any one tells you that your cattle are lost, then, before you say anything else, say first,—

"Bethlehem was named the town

Wherein Christ was born.

Renowned it is through all the world.

So may this act among men grow famed

Through the Holy Rood of Christ. Amen."

for pu. — 3. Wan., G. vva. — 6. Wan., G. gebide. — 9. Wan., C., W. in *for III in lines* 7, 8, 9. — 9. MS., Wan. reducant. — 10. MS., Wan., G. sunt *for est.* — 11. Wan. places a period after *hælon.* — 12. Wan. pæa. Wan. forholenne.

A 22. — 1. W. sege (or sæge).

Gebide þē þonne þriwa ēast and cweþ þonne þriwa: Crux
 Christi ab oriente reducat; gebide þē þonne þriwa west and
 10 cweð þonne þriwa: Crux Christi ab occidente reducat; gebide
 þē þonne þriwa sūð and cweð þriwa: Crux Christi ab austro
 |reducat; gebide þē þonne þriwa norð and cweð þriwa: Crux 181a
 Christi ab aquilone reducat, Crux Christi abscondita est et
 inuenta est. Jūdēas Crist āhengon; dydon dāda þā wyrrestan;
 15 hālon þæt hȳ forhelan ne mihtan. Swā þeos dād nānige þinga
 forholen ne wurpe, þurh þā hālīgan Cristes rōde. Amen.

A 23. WID UNCŪÐUM SWYLE

Sing on ðine læcefinger III Paternoster, and writ ymb þæt 17
 sære and cweð:

Fuge, diabolus, Christus te sequitur. Quando natus est Chris-
 tus, fugit dolor.

5 And eft III Paternoster, and III Fuge diabolus.

A 24. WID ÆLFSOGOPAN

Gif him biþ ælfsogopa, him bēoþ þā ēagan geolwe, þær hi 124b
 rēade bēon sceoldon. Gif þū þone mon lācnian wille, þanc his
 gebāra and wite hwilces hādes hē ste. Gif hit biþ wāpned man
 and lōcað ūp, þonne þū hine ārest scēawast, and sē andwlita
 5 biþ geolwe blac, þone mon þū meaht gelācnian æltæwlice, gif hē
 ne biþ þær on tō lange. Gif hit biþ wif and lōcað niþer þonne þū
 hit ārest scēawast, and hire andwlita biþ rēade wān, þæt þū
 miht ēac gelācnian. Gif hit bið dægþerne leng on þonne XII
 mōnaþ, and sio onsȳn biþ þyslicu, þonne meaht þū hine gebētan
 10 tō hwile and ne meaht hwæþere æltæwlice gelācnian. Writ þis
 gewrit:

Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium . Byrnice .
 Beronice . lurlure . iehe . aius . aius . aius . Sanctus . Sanctus .
 Sanctus . dominus deus Sabaoth . amen . alleluiah.

15 Sing þis ofer þām drence and þām gewrite:

Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per
 Inpositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen.
 Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de | cerebro, 125a
 de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de
 20 dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo,
 de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedi-
 bus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris,
 amen.

A 22. — 9. MS., C. reducað. — 12. MS., C., W. omit þe. — 13. MS., C. reductð.

A 23. — 1. C. in Pater. — 5. C. eftur for eft III.

Then pray three times toward the east, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab oriente reducat*;" then pray three times west, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab occidente reducat*;" then pray three times south, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab austro reducat*;" then pray three times north, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab aquilone reducat, Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est*. The Jews crucified Christ; they did the worst of deeds to him; they hid what they could not hide. So may this deed in no wise be hidden, through the Holy Rood of Christ. Amen."

A 23. FOR A STRANGE SWELLING

Sing the *Paternoster* three times on your little finger, and draw a line around the sore, and say, —

"Fuge, diabolus, Christus te sequitur. Quando natus est Christus, fugit dolor."

And once more [say] the *Paternoster* three times and *Fuge diabolus* three times.

A 24. FOR ELF HICCUP *Stump 249-300*

If a person has elf hiccup, his eyes will be yellow where they should be red. If you purpose to heal the patient, observe his carriage and notice of what sex he is. If it is a man, and, when you first see him, he gazes upwards and his face is yellowish black, you may cure him completely, provided he has not been afflicted too long. If it is a woman, and, when you first see her, she looks downwards and her face is a sickly red, you may also cure her. If the disease has lasted longer than a year and a day, and the face shows evidence thereof, you may ameliorate [the patient's] condition for a while, but nevertheless may not altogether cure it. Write this writing: —

"Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium . Byrnice . Beronice . Iurlure . iehē . aius . aius . aius . Sanctus . Sanctus . Sanctus . dominus deus Sabaoth . Amen . Alleluiah."

Sing this over the drink, and recite the following writing: —

"Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per Inpositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen. Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de cerebro, de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo, de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedibus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris, amen."

A 24. — 9. C. betan. — 12. MS., C., L. eSt. — Punctuation in lines 13 and 14 as in MS. — 17. MS. N. for nomen. — 18. MS. impetuū. — 22. MS., L. compaginibus.

Wyr̃c þonne drenc: {fontwæter,} rūdan, sāluian, cassuc, drā-
 25 conzan, þā smēþan wegbrādan niþewearde, fēferfūgian, diles
 crop, [gārleāces. III clufe,] finul, wermōd, lufestice, elehtre,
 ealra emfela; wr̃t III crucem mid oleum infirmorum and cweð:
pax tibi. Nim þonne þæt gewrit, wr̃t crucem mid ofer þām
 drince and sing þis þær ofer:

30 Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per in-
 positionem huius scripturae et per gustum huius, expelle dia-
 bolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster.

Wæt þæt gewrit on þām drence and wr̃t crucem mid him on
 ælcum lime, and cweð:

35 Signum crucis Christi conservate. In vitam eternam, amen.
 Gif þē ne lyste, hāt hine selfne, oþþe swā gesubne swā hē
 gesibbost hæbbe; and sēnige, swā hē sēlost cunne. Þēs cræft
 mæg wiþ ælcra fēondes costunge.

B 1. WIÐ DĒOFOLSĒOCNESSE

Ðēos wyrt, þe man priapisci and oðrum naman vica pervica 68a
 nemneð, tō manegum þingon wel fremað: þæt ys þonne ærest
 ongēan dēofol sēocnyssa, and wið nādran, and wið wildēor, and
 wið āttru, and wið gehwylce behātu, and wið andan, and wið
 5 ōgan, and þæt ōū gife hæbbe. And gif ōū þās wyrt mid þē
 hafast ōū bist gesælig and symle gecwēme. Ðās wyrt þū
 scealt niman þus cweþende:

Te precor, vica pervica, multis utilitatibus habenda ut
 venias ad me hilaris florens, cum tuis virtutibus, ut ea mihi
 10 prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a venenis et ab iracundia
 inlesus.

þæt ys þonne on ūre geþēode:

15 Ic bidde þē, vica pervica, manegum nytlicnyssum tō hæbenne
 þæt ōū glæd tō mē cume mid þīnum mægenum blōwende, þæt
 ōū mē gegearwie þæt ic sý gescyld and symle gesælig and un-
 gedered fram āttrum and fram yrsunge.

Donne ōū þās wyrt niman wylt, ōū scealt bēon clāne wið
 æghwylce unclānnysse; and ōū hý scealt niman þonne sē
 mōna bið nigon nihta cald, and endlyfon nihta, and ðrēottýne
 20 nyhta, and ðrittig nihta, and ðonne hē byð ānre nihte cald.

A 24. — 31. MS. scriptura. — 32. MS. N̄.

B 1. — MSS. = V., O., B., H. Edd. = C., Be. Be. heading is priapisci. uica perulca.
 — 1. O. þat. O. priapisci. — 2. H. manegan. O. þinge. H. framað; O. fremæð. þat
 is. O. þanne. Be. ærest. — 3. O. deofel. O., B. seocnessa. O. nadran. O. wyldēor.
 — 4. H. hwylce for gehwylce. — 5. O. þat. O. gyfe. O. and gif þu mid þe peos wyrt
 hæbbe. — 6. O. byst. O. simble gecwēman; H. gecwēme. H. þa for ðas. O. wyrt. —
 7. O. scelt. — 8. MSS. C., Be. uica perulca; thus throughout the charm. — 12. O. omits

Then concoct a drink as follows: {spring water} rue, sage, hassock, dragonwort, the nethermost part of the smooth plantain, feverfew, a bunch of dill, {three head of garlic} fennel, wormwood, lovage, lupine — just so many of all; write a cross three times with oil of unction and say, "*Pax tibi.*" Then take the writing [which was previously recited], mark a cross with it over the drink, and sing the following over the latter: —

"Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per inpositionem huius scripturae et per gustum huius, expelle diabolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster."

Moisten the writing in the drink and mark a cross with it on every limb, and say, —

"Signum crucis Christi conserve. In vitam eternam, amen."

If you do not wish to do this, let the man himself, or that relative who is nearest akin to him, do it; and let him cross himself as best he can. This artifice will prevail against every temptation of the fiend.

B 1. AGAINST DEMONIAL POSSESSION

This herb, which is called *priapiscus*, and by another name, *vinca pervinca*, does good service in many ways: that is, for example, first against demoniacal possession, and against snakes, and against wild beasts, and against poisons, and against all threats, and against envy, and against fear; and that you may have grace. And if you have this herb with you, you shall be prosperous and always agreeable. You must pluck the herb, saying as follows: —

"Te precor, vica pervica, multis utilitatibus habenda ut venias ad me hilaris florens, cum tuis virtutibus, ut ea mihi prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a venenis et ab iracundia inlesus."

That is to say, in our tongue, —

"I pray you, *vinca pervinca* — to be had for your many advantages — that you come to me joyously, blooming with your virtues, that you endow me with such qualities that I shall be shielded and ever prosperous and unharmed by poisons and by rage."

When you mean to pluck this herb, you must be free from every defilement; and you must gather it when the moon is nine nights old, and eleven nights, and thirteen nights, and thirty nights, and when it is one night old.

ponne. — 13. O. hæbbene. — 14. O. þat. ſug. B. mægnum. — 15. B., H. gegearwige; O. gearwile. O. p. hlc. for þat ic. O. symble. O. toſælig. O. ungederod. — 16. Be. attru. Be. fran. — 17. O. þane. O. þeos. O. nime wult. O. clane. — 18. O. æghwile unclanasse. O. þu scealt hi niman, þonne þe; B. hig. scealt. — 19. O. byð neoga. V. omits nihta cald and endlyfon. H. ænluſon. O. enluſon nihta cald and þanne he byð anre niht cald; Be. the same, but byd. þreottene. — 20. H. þon.

B 2. WID MICLUM GONGE

Wif miclum gonge ofer land, þylæs hē tēorige: mucgwyrt 57a
 nime him on hand, oþþe dō on his scō, þylæs hē mēþige; and
 þonne hē niman wille ær sunnan ūpgange, cweþe þās word
 ærest:

5 Tollam te artemesia, | ne lassus sim in via. 57b

Gesēna hīe, þonne þū ūptēo.

B 3. WID ÆLFADLE

Gang on þunresæfen, þonne sunne on setle sīe, þær þū wite 123b
 elenan standan; sing þonne *Benedicite* and *Paternoster* and
 lētanian, and sting þin seax on þā wyrte; læt stician þær on, gang
 þē āweg. Gang eft tō þonne dæg and niht furþum scāde. On
 5 þām ilcan ūhte, gang ærest tō ciricean and þē gesēna and gode
 þē bebēod. Gang þonne swīgende and þeah þē hwæthwega
 egeslices | ongēan cume oþþe man, ne cweþ þū him ænig word tō, 124a
 ær þū cume tō þære wyrte þe þū on æfen ær gemearcodeost. Sing
 þonne *Benedicite* and *Paternoster* and lētanīa, ādelf þā wirt, læt
 10 stician þæt seax þær on. Gang eft swā þū raþost mæge tō ciricean
 and lege under wēofod mid þām seaxe; læt licgean, oþþæt
 sunne uppe sīe. Āwæsc siþþan, dō tō drence and bisceopwyrte
 and crīstes-mæles ragu; āwyl þriwa on meolcum, gēot þriwa
 hāligwæter on, sing on *Paternoster* and Crēdan and *Gloria in ex-*
 15 *celsis deo*, and sing on hine lētanīa; and hine ēac ymbwrit mid
 sweorde on IIII healfa on cruce and drince þone drenc siþþan.
 Him biþ sōna sēl.

B 4. NIGON WYRTA GALDOR

Gemyne ðū, Mucgyrt, hwæt þū āmeldodest, 160a
 hwæt þū rēnadest æt Regenmelde.

Unā þū hāttest, yldost wyrta.

Ðū miht wið III and wið XXX,

5 þū miht wið āttre and wið onflyge,
 þū miht wif þām lāþan, ðe geond lond fært.

Ond þū, Wegbrāde, wyrta mōdor,
 ēastan openo, innan mihtigu.

Ofer ðē cræto curran, ofer ðē cwēne reodan,
 10 ofer ðē brýde bryo | dedon, ofer þē fearras fnærdon. 160b
 Eallum þū þon wiðstōde and wiðstunedest;

B 2. — 1. Kl. gange. Kl., C., H. þy lcs; *likewise in line 2.* Kl. mug-wyrte. 2. Kl. sceo. G. medige. — 5. MS. tellam. G. artemisia. MS., L. sum. — 6. G. gesegna.

B 3. — 3. H. litanian. — 16. L. IV. H. drenc; siþpanhim.

B 2. FOR MUCH TRAVELLING

For much travelling on land, lest a person tire: let him take mugwort in his hand or put it in his shoe, lest he grow weary; and if he would pluck it before sunrise let him first say these words:—

“Tollam te artemesia, ne lassus sim in via.”

Sign it with the sign of the cross when you pull it up.

B 3. FOR ELF-DISEASE

On Thursday evening when the sun is set, go where you know that elecampane stands; then sing the *Benedicite* and a *Paternoster* and a litany, and stick your knife into the herb; let it stick fast therein and go away. Go again thither, just as day and night divide. During this same daybreak go first to church and cross yourself and commend yourself to God. Then go in silence, and, though something of a fearful kind or a man should come upon you, say not a single word to it until you reach the herb you marked the night before. Then sing the *Benedicite* and a *Paternoster* and a litany, delve up the herb, letting the knife stick fast in it. As quickly as you can, go to church and place it with the knife under the altar; let it lie until the sun has risen. Afterwards wash it and make it and bishop's-wort and lichen off a crucifix into a drink; boil the drink three times in milk, pour holy water into it three times, sing over it a *Paternoster* and a *Credo* and a *Gloria in excelsis deo*, and sing a litany over it; and also, with a sword, inscribe a cross round it on four sides, and after that let the patient drink the draught. He will soon be well.

B 4. NINE HERBS CHARM

Remember, Mugwort, what you revealed,
What you prepared at Regenmeld.
Una, you are called, eldest of herba.
You avail against three and against thirty,
You avail against poison and against infectious sickness,
You avail against the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

And you, Plantain, mother of herba,
Open from the east, mighty from within.
Over you carts creaked, over you queens rode,
Brides exclaimed over you, over you bulls gnashed their teeth.
Yet all these you withstood and fought against:

B. 4. — 4. W., H. ond for and throughout the charm. — 6. C., W., L. pa. — 8. MS., C. opone. — 9. MS., C. 57, four times in lines 9 and 10. MS., C. crætu; W. crætu.

- 12 swā ðū wiðstonde āttre and onflyge,
and þæm lāðan, þe geond lond fereð.
- Stime hætte þeos wyr̥t; heo on stāne gewēox.
15 Stond heo wið āttre, stunað heo wærce.
Stiðe heo hætte, wiðstunað heo āttre,
wreced heo wrāðan, weorpeð ut āttor.
Þis is sēo wyr̥t, sēo wið wyr̥m gefeaht;
þeos mæg wið āttre, heo mæg wið onflyge,
20 heo mæg wið ðam lāþan, ðe geond | lond fereþ. 161a
- Flēoh þū nū, Åttorlāðe, sēo læsse ðā mārān,
sēo mære þā læssan, oððæt him bēigra bōt sý.
- Gemyne þū, Mægðe, hwæt þū āmeldodest
hwæt ðū geandadest æt Alorforda:
25 þæt nāfre for gefloge feorh ne gesealde,
syþðan him mon mægðan tō mete gegyrede.
- Þis is sēo wyr̥t, ðe Wergulu hætte.
Ðas onsænde seolh ofer sæs hrygc
ondan āttres oþres tō bōte.
- 30 Ðas VIII ongan wið nigon āttrum.
- Wyr̥m cōm | snican, tōslāt hē man. 161b
Ðā genam Wōden VIII wuldortānas,
slōh ðā þā næddran, þæt heo on VIII tōflēah.
þær geandade æppel næddran āttor,
35 þæt heo nāfre ne wolde on hūs būgan.
- Fille and Finule, fela mihtigu twā,
þā wyr̥te gescēop witiġ drihten,
hālig on heofonum, þā hē hongode.
Sette and sænde on VII worulde
40 | earmum and ēadigum eallum tō bōte. 162a
- Stond heo wið wærce, stunað heo wið āttre,
sēo mæg wið III and wið XXX,
wið fēondes hond and wið færbregde,
wið malscrunge minra wihta.
- 45 Nū magon þas VIII wyr̥ta wið nygon wuldorgeflogenum,
wið VIII āttrum and wið nygon onflygnum,
wið ðý rēadan āttre, wið ðý runlan āttre,
wið ðý hwitan āttre, wið ðý wēdenan āttre,
wið ðý geolwan āttre, wið ðý grēnan | āttre, 162b
50 wið ðý wonnan āttre, wið ðý wēdenan āttre,
wið ðý brūnan āttre, wið ðý basewan āttre;
wið wyr̥mgeblād, wið wætergeblād,

B 4.—14. MS. *illegible*, stune or stime; C. stime (stune). 20. C., W., L. ðā.—31. MS. *benan*.—34. MS. and Edd. æppel and āttor.—38. C. adds sette to this line.—

So may you poison and infectious sicknesses resist
And the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

Stime this herb is named; on stone it grew.
It stands against poison, it combats pain.
Fierce it is called, it fights against venom,
It expels malicious [demons], it casts out venom.
This is the herb that fought against the snake,
This avails against venom, it avails against infectious illnesses,
It avails against the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

Fly now, Betonica, the less from the greater,
The greater from the less, until there be a remedy for both.

Remember, Camomile, what you revealed,
What you brought about at Alorford:
That he nevermore gave up the ghost because of ills infectious,
Since Camomile into a drug for him was made.

This is the herb called Wergulu.
The seal sent this over the ocean's ridge
To heal the horror of other poison.

These nine fought against nine poisons:

A snake came sneaking, it slew a man.
Then Woden took nine thunderbolts
And struck the serpent so that in nine parts it flew.
There apple destroyed the serpent's poison:
That it nevermore in house would dwell.

Thyme and Fennel, an exceeding mighty two,
These herbs the wise Lord created,
Holy in heaven, while hanging [on the cross].
He laid and placed them in the seven worlds,
As a help for the poor and the rich alike.

It stands against pain, it fights against poison,
It is potent against three and against thirty,
Against a demon's hand, and against sudden guile,
Against enchantment by vile creatures.

Now these nine herbs avail against nine accursed spirits,
Against nine poisons and against nine infectious ills,
Against the red poison, against the running poison,
Against the white poison, against the blue poison,
Against the yellow poison, against the green poison,
Against the black poison, *against the blue poison*,
Against the brown poison, against the scarlet poison,
Against worm-blister, against water-blister,

43. MS., C., H. feondes hond and wið þæs hond wið frea begde; W. hond and wið þæs fagan hond. — 47. MS. ða runlan.

wið þorngablæd, wið þystelgeblæd,
 wið ysgeblæd, wið ättorgeblæd;
 55 gif ænig ättor cume ēastan fīeogan oððe ænig norðan cume
 oððe ænig westan ofer wertðode.

Crist stōð ofer ādle ængan cundes.
 Ic āna wāt ēa rinnende and þā nygon nēdran behealdað;
 mōtan ealle wēoda nū wyrtum | āspringan, 163a
 60 sēs tōslūpan, eal sealt wæter,
 ðonne ic þis ättor of ðē geblāwe.

Mugcwyr̥t, wegbrāde þe ēastan open sȳ, lombescyr̥se, ättor-
 lāðan, mageðan, netelan, wudusūr æppel, fille and finul, ealde
 sāpan; gewyr̥c ðā wyr̥ta tō dūste, mænge wip þā sāpan and wip
 65 þæs æpples gor. Wyr̥c slypan of wætere and of axsan, genim
 finol, wyl on þære slyppan and beþe mid æggemang, þonne hē
 þā sealfe | on dō, ge ær ge æfter. Sing þæt galdor on ælcra þāra 163b
 wyr̥ta: III ær hē hȳ wyr̥ce, and on þone æppel eal swā; ond singe
 þon men in þone mūð and in þā ēaran būta and on ðā wunde
 70 þæt ilce gealdor, ær hē þā sealfe ondō.

B.5. WIÐ WÆTERÆLFÄDLE

Gif mon biþ on wæterælfädle, þonne beoþ him þā handnæ- 125a
 glas wonne and þā ēagan tēarige and wile lōcian niþer. | Dō 125b
 him þis tō lācedōme: eoforþrote, cassuc, fone niþoweard,
 ðowberge, elehtre, eolone, merscmealwan crop, fenminte, dīle,
 5 lilie, ättorlāþe, pollēie, mārūbie, docce, ellen, felterre, wermōd,
 strēawbergean lēaf, consolde; ofgēot mid ealaþ, dō hāligwæter
 tō, sing þis gealdor ofer þriwa:

Ic benne awrāt betest beadowrēda,
 swā benne ne burnon, ne burston,
 10 ne fundian, ne feologan,
 ne hoppettan, ne wund wāco slān,
 ne dolh dīopian; ac him self healde hālewæge,
 ne ace þē þon mā, þe eorþan on ēare ace.

Sing þis manegum slūpum: "Eorþe þē onbere eallum hire
 15 mihtum and mægenum." Þās galdor mon mæg singan on
 wunde.

B 6. WIÐ CYRNLA

Ecce dolgula medit dudum, 186a
 beðegunda breðegunda

B 4. — 53. MS., W. ȳsgeblæd. — 57. MS. alde. 64. C. mængc. — 66. MS., L. aago-
 mogc; C. æggemangc. — 67. MS., L. on de. — 68. C. omits hy. — 70. MS., L. onde.

Against thorn-blister, against thistle-blister,
Against ice-blister, against poison-blister,
If any infection come flying from the east, or any come from the north,
Or any come from the west upon the people.

Christ stood over poison of every kind.
I alone know [the use of] running water, and the nine serpents take heed [of it].
All pastures now may spring up with herbs,
The seas, all salt water, vanish,
When I blow this poison from you.

Mugwort, plantain which is open eastward, lamb's cress, betony, camomile, nettle, crab-apple, thyme and fennel, [and] old soap; reduce the herbs to a powder, mix [this] with the soap and with the juice of the apple. Make a paste of water and of ashes; take fennel, boil it in the paste and bathe with egg-mixture, either before or after the patient applies the salve. Sing the charm on each of the herbs: three times before he brews them, and on the apple likewise; and before he applies the salve, sing the charm into the patient's mouth and into both his ears and into the wound.

B 5. FOR THE WATER-ELF DISEASE

If a person has the water-elf disease, his finger nails will be livid and his eyes tearful and he will look downwards. Do this for him by way of medical treatment: [take] carline, hassock, the netherward part of iris, yew-berry, lupine, elecampane, a head of marshmallow, water-mint, dill, lily, betony, pennyroyal, horehound, dock, elder-wood, earth-gall, wormwood, strawberry leaves, comfrey; steep them in ale, add holy water, sing this charm over them three times:—

"Round the wounds I have wreathed the best of healing amulets,
That the wounds may neither burn nor burst,
Nor grow worse nor putrefy,
Nor throb, nor be filthy wounds,
Nor cut in deeply; but let him keep the sacred water for himself,
Then it will pain you no more than it pains the land by the sea."

Sing this many times: "May Earth remove you with all her might and main." This charm may be sung on the wound.

B 6. FOR KERNELS

"Ecce dolgula medit dudum,
beðegunda breðegunda

B 5.—3. G. *omits* fone and nlopoweard. — 5. G. marruble. — 6. G. strawbergean. — 8. C., L. *lines* 8–13 in *prose*. C., L. *binne*. G. *wræða*. — 11. C. *hoppetan*. G. *wund waxian*. — 14. G. *coðe*. G. *mid callum*. — 15. G. *gealdor*.

5 elecunda eleuachia,
 mottem mee renum
 orþa fueþa
 leta ues noe ues
 terre dolge drore uhic
 alleluiah.

Singe man þis gebed on þæt sē man drincan wille nygan
10 sīþan, and Paternoster nigan sīþan.

Arcus supeð
assedit uirgo cana bið
lux et ure cana bið."

Sing ðis nigon sīþan and Paternoster VIII on ānum bere-
15 nan hlāfe, and syle þān horse etan.

B 7. WID FLĒOGENDUM ĀTTRE

Wip flēogendum āttre and ælcum ætērnnum swile: on frigedæge 43a
āþwer buteran, þe sie gemolcen of ānes blēos nýtne oððe hinde,
and ne sie wiþ wætre gemenged. Āsing ofer nigon sīþum lē-
tania and nigon sīþum Paternoster and nigon sīþum þis gealdor:
5 "Acræ . ærcræ . ærnem . nadre . ærcuna hel . ærnem . niþærn .
ær . asan . buiþine . adrice . ærnem . meodre . ærnem . æþern .
ærnem . allū . honor . ucus . idar . adcert . cunolari raticamo .
helæ . icas xþita . hæle . tobært tera . fueli . cui . robater .
plana . uili ."
10 þæt dēah tō ælcum and hūru tō dēopum dolgum.

C 1. WID BLÆCE

Genim gōse smero and niþewearde elenan and haran sprecel, 28b
bisceopwyrht and hegrifan; þā fēower wyrta cnuwa tōsomne
wel, āwring, dō þæron ealdre sāpan cucles fulne; gif þū hæbbe
lýtēl eles, meng wiþ swiþe and on niht ālyþre. Searpa þone
5 swēoran ofer sunnan setlgange, gēot swigende þæt blōd on
yrnende wæter, spīw þriwa æfter, cweþ þonne:
Hafe þū þās unhæle, and gewit āweg mid.
Gange eft on clænne weg tō hūse and gehwæþerne gang
swigende.

B 7. — 5. *The punctuation is that of the MS.*

elecunda eleuachia,
mottem mee renum
orþa fueþa
leta ues noe ues
terre dolge drore uhic
alleluiah."

Have this prayer sung nine times and the *Paternoster* nine times over [a potion] which the man is about to drink.

"Arcus supē
assedit uirgo cana bið
lux et nre cana bið."

Sing this nine times and the *Paternoster* nine times on a barley loaf, and give it to the horse to eat.

B 7. FOR INFECTIOUS DISEASE

For infectious disease and for every poisonous swelling: on a Friday churn butter which is milked from a cow or hind of a single color, and which is not diluted with water. Sing over it nine times a litany, and nine times the *Paternoster*, and nine times this charm:—

"Acrae . ærcrae . ærnem . nadre . ærcuna hel . ærnem . niþarn . ær .
asan . buiþine . adcrice . ærnem . meodre . ærnem . æþern . æraem .
allū . honor . ucus . idar . adcert . cunolari raticamo . helæ . icas xpita .
hæle . tobært tera . fueli . cui . robater . plana . uili."

It avails for all wounds, and especially for deep ones.

C 1. FOR SCABIES

Take goose-grease and the nether end of elecampane, and viper's bugloss, bishopswort and hairif; pound the four herbs well together, squeeze them out, add thereto a spoonful of old soap; if you have a little oil, mingle it thoroughly [with the foregoing], and at night lather [the mixture] on. Scarify the neck after sunset, silently pour the blood into running water, spit three times thereafter, then say:—

"Take this evil [thing], and move away with it."

Afterwards go to your house by an open road, and go each way in silence.

C 1. — 7. L. no punctuation after mld.

C 2. WIÐ WAMBEWÆRCE

Wiþ wambewærce and ryselwærce: þær þū gesēo tordwifel 115b
on eorþan ūpweorpan, ymbfō hine mid twām handum mid his
geweorpe, wāfa mid þīnum handum swiþe and cweð þriwa:

Remedium facio ad uentris dolorem.

- 5 Wearp þonne ofer bæc þone wifel on wege; beheald, þæt þū
ne lōcige æfter. Þonne monnes wambe wærce oððe rysle,
ymbfōh mid þīnum handum þā wambe. Him biþ sōna sēl.
XII mōnaþ þū meaht swā dōn æfter þām wifele.

C 3. WIÐ FLĒOGENDAN ĀTTRE

Āslēah IIII scearpan on fēower healfa mid æcenan brande; 174b
geblōdga ðone brand, weorp on weg, sing ðis on III:

- + Matheus me ducat, + Marcus me conseruet, + Lucas me
liberet, + Johannes me adiuuet, semper, amen. Contriue deus
5 omnem malum et nequitiam, per uirtutem patris et filii et spiri-
tus sancti. Sanctifica me, | emanuhel Jesus Christus, libera me 175a
ab omnibus insidiis inimicis. Benedictio domini super capitem
meum potens deus in omni tempore. Amen.

C 4. WIÐ HUNTAN BITE

Wiþ þon gif hunta gebite mannan, þæt is swiþra, slēah þrȳ 53b
scearpan nēah fromweardes, læt|yrnan þæt blōd on grēnne 54a
sticcan hæslenne, weorp þonne ofer weg āweg: þonne ne biþ
nān yfel.

- 5 Eft āslēah V scearpan, āne on þām bite and fēower ymbū-
tan; weorp mid sticcan swigende ofer wænweg.

C 5. WIÐ ĀSWOLLENUM ĒAGUM

Genim cucune hrēfn, ādō þā ēagan of and eft cucune gebring 111b
on wætre; and dō þā ēagan þām men on swēoran, þe him þearf
sīe. Hē biþ sōna hāl.

D 1. WIÐ MARAN

Gif mon mare rīde, genim elehtran and gārlēac and betoni- 52b
can and rēcels, bind on næsce; | hæbbe him mon on, and hē 53a
gange in on þās wyrte.

- C 3. — 1. L. IV. — 2. C., L. *supply* alðum and dagum, respectively, after III. — 3.
MS., C., L. ducat. MS., C., L. conseruæð. — 4. MS., L. liberat. MS., L. adiuuat.

C 2. FOR BOWEL-PAIN

For pain in the bowels and in the fatty part of the abdomen: when you see a dung-beetle on the ground throwing up earth, seize him and the heap [he has made] with both hands, wave him vigorously with your hands and say three times:—

“Remedium facio ad ventris dolorem.”

Then throw away the beetle over your back; take care not to look after it. When a man's bowels or belly fat pain him, grasp his abdomen with your hands. He will soon be well. You will be able to do this for twelve months after [seizing] the beetle.

C 3. AGAINST INFECTIOUS DISEASE

Make four incisions in four parts [of the body] with an oaken stick; stain the stick with blood, throw it away, and over [the patient] sing this three times:—

“+ Matheus me ducat, + Marcus me conseruet, + Lucas me liberet, + Johannes me adiuuet, semper, amen. Contriue deus omnem malum et nequitiam, per uirtutem patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Sanctifica me, emanuhel Jesus Christus, libera me ab omnibus insidiis inimicis. Benedictio domini super capitem meum potens deus in omni tempore. Amen.”

C 4. FOR A SPIDER-BITE

If a spider — that is, one of the fiercer kind — bite a man, make three incisions near but away from [the wound], let the blood run on a green hazel stick; throw [the stick] away across the road: then no ill will result.

Again, make five incisions, one on the bite and four around it; silently throw [the blood] with a stick across a cart-road.

C 5. FOR SWOLLEN EYES

Take a live crab, put out its eyes, and then return it alive to the water; and place the eyes around the neck of the man who needs them. He will soon be well.

D 1. AGAINST AN INCUBUS

If an incubus oppress a man, take lupine and garlic and betony and frankincense, bind them in a fawn-skin; let [the sufferer] have them on his person and let him go indoors with them.

C. suggests *contere* for *contriue*. — 6. MS., C. *xp̃s*; L. *cristus*. — 7. MS., C., L. *inimici*. MS., C., L. *caput*.

C 4. — 2. C. *grenne*. — 6. C. *peorp* for *weorp*.

D 2. WID ONFEALLE

Geföh fox, āslēah of cucum þone tuxl, lēt hlēapan āweg; 39b
bind on næsce; hafe þē on.

D 3. WID FĒONDES COSTUNGE

Rud molin hātte wyrt weaxeþ be yrnendum wætre. Gif þū 122b
þā on þē hafast, and under þīnum hēafodbolstre and ofer þīnes
hūses durum, ne mæg ðē dēofol sceþþan, inne|ne ūte. 123a

D 4. WID HĒAFODECE

Sēc lýtle stānas on swealwan bridda magan and heald, þæt 111b
hie ne hrinan eorþan, ne wætre, ne ðprum stānum. Besēowa
hira III on þōn þe þū wille, dō on þone mon þe him þearf sie.
Him biþ sōna sēl. Hi bēoþ gōde wiþ hēafodece, and wiþ ēag-
5 wærce, and wiþ fēondes costunga, and nihtgengan, and lencten-
ādle, and maran, and wyrt-forbore, and malscra, and yflum
gealdorcræftum. Hit sculon bēon micle briddas þe þū hie scealt
onfindan.

D 5. GAGĀTES CRÆFTAS

Be þām stāne þe gagātes hātte, is sād, þæt hē VIII mægen 108a
hæbbe. Ān is: þonne þunorrād biþ, ne scepeð þām men þe þone
stān mid him hæfð. Ōþer mægen is: on swā hwilcum hūse swā
hē biþ, ne mæg þær inne fēond wesan. Þridde mægen is: þæt
5 nān āttor þām men|ne mæg sceþþan þe þone stān mid him 108b
hafap. Fēorþe mægen is: þæt sē man sē þe þone lāþan fēond on
him dēagollice hæfþ, gif hē þæs stānes gesceafenes hwilcne dæl
on wētan onfehð, þonne biþ sōna sweotol ætēowod on him,
þæt ær dēagol mād. Fifte mægen is: sē þe ænigre ādle gedreht
10 biþ, gif hē þone stān on wētan þigeþ, him biþ sōna sēl. Syxte
mægen is: þæt drýcræft þām men ne dereþ sē þe hine mid him
hæfð. Seofþe mægen is: þæt sē þe þone stān on drince on-
fehð, hē hæfþ þē smēþran lichoman. Eahtoþe is þæs stānes
mægen: þæt nān nādran cynnes bite þām sceþþan ne mæg, þe
15 þone stān on wētan byrigþ.

D 6. BLŌDSETEN

Gehāl beren ēar bestinge on ēare, swā hē nyte. Sume þis 20a
writað:

D 3. — 1. C., L. niolin. — 2. L. begins a new paragraph at pinum. — 3. C. þe. MS., C.
Inne.

D 2. FOR A SWELLING

Catch a fox, cut off his tusk while he is alive, let him run away; bind [the tusk] in a fawn-skin; have it with you.

D 3. AGAINST THE ASSAULTS OF THE FIEND

Red mullen is the name of an herb that grows near running water. If you have it on your person and under your pillow and over the doors of your house, a devil may not injure you within or without.

D 4. FOR HEADACHE

Look for little stones in a young swallow's stomach, and take care that they touch neither earth, water, nor other stones. Select any three of them that you choose; put them on the person in distress: he will soon be well. They are good for headache, and for pain in the eyes, and against the temptations of a fiend, and against nocturnal demons, and for ague, and against incubi, and for sexual constriction, and for bewitchment, and against wicked incantations. They must be well-grown nestlings in whom you are to find the stones.

D 5. THE VIRTUES OF JET

Of the stone called jet it is said that it has eight virtues. One is: when the thunder crashes, it will not harm the man who carries this stone with him. Another virtue is: in whatsoever house it may be, no demon can stay therein. The third virtue is: that no poison can injure the person who carries this stone with him. The fourth virtue is: that if the man who is secretly possessed with the hateful fiend, take, in liquid, any portion of the shavings of the stone — then that which before was profoundly concealed, will soon be visibly manifested in him. The fifth virtue is: if the person who is afflicted with any disease take the stone in liquid, he will soon be well. The sixth virtue is: that sorcery will not injure the man who carries [the stone] with him. The seventh virtue is: that he who takes the stone in a potion, will have so much the smoother body. The eighth virtue of the stone is: that no bite of any kind of snake can injure him who takes the stone in liquid.

D 6. FOR STANCHING BLOOD

Thrust a whole ear of barley into [the sufferer's] ear in such a way that he be unaware of it. Some write the following:—

D 5. — 6. L. feondon.

+ Ægryn . thon . struth . fola argrenn . tart . struth . on . tria .
 enn . piath . | hathu . morfana . on hæl + ara . carn . leou . groth . 20b
 5 weorn . + + + fil . crondi . weorn . þ̅ . mro . cron . ærcrio .
 ermio . aer . leno .

Ge horse ge men blödseten.

D 7. BE GALDORSTAFUM

Gif þū wille gān tō þīnum hlāforde oþþe tō kyninge oþþe tō 136b
 oþrum menn oððe tō gemōte, þonne bær þū þās stafas: ælc þāra
 þonne bið hē þē līfe and blið.

XX . h . d . e . o . e . o . o . o . e . e . e . e . laf . d . R . U . fi .
 5 ð . f . p . A . x . Box . Nux . In nomine patris Rex . M . p . x .
 XIX . xls . xli . ih . + Deo . eo . deo . deeo . lafdruel . bepax .
 box . nux . bu . In nomine patris rex mariæ . Jesus Christus
 dominus meus . Jesus + . Eonfra . senioribus . H . hrinlur . her .
 letus contra me . hee . larrhibus excitatio pacis inter virum and
 10 mulierem A . B . and alfa tibi reddit uota fructu leta . lita . tota .
 tauta . uel tellus et ade uirescit.

D 8. WIÐ LĒODRŪNAN

Wiþ ælcra yfelre lēodrūnan and wið ælfsidenne, þis gewrit 52b
 writ him, þis Grēciscum stafum:

+⁺A + + O + ⁺Y + ipByM + + + + + : BerONNIKNETTANI.

D 9. WIÐ LENCTENĀDLE

⌘MMRMþ. Nandþ TX⌘MREwNandþTX.

53a

Eft sceal mon swigende þis writan, and dōn þās word swi-
 gende on þā winstran brēost. And ne gā hē in on þæt gewrit, ne
 in on ber. And ēac swigende þis on dōn:

5 HAMMAN[°]YEL . BPONICe . NOY[°]ewTAY[°]EPG.

D 6. — 3. The punctuation of MS. is followed in lines 3-6. — 5. C. fil. C., L. w for weorn. — 6. MS., C. æR . leNo.

" + Ægryn . thon . struth . fola argrenn , tart . struth . on . tria .
enn . piath . hathu . morfana . on hæł + ara . carn . leou . groth .
weorn . + + + fil . crondi . weorn . ƿ . mro . cron . ærcrīo . ermīo .
ær . leno ."

For stanching blood in horse or man.

D 7. CONCERNING MAGIC WRITINGS

If you desire to go to your lord or to the king or to another man or to an assembly, then carry these writings with you: every one of them will then be friendly and gracious to you.

"XX . h . d . e . o . e . o . o . o . e . e . e . e . laf . d . R . U . fi . ƿ .
f . p . A . x . Box . Nux . In nomine patris Rex . M . ƿ . x . XIX . xls .
xli . ih . + Deo . eo . deo . deeo , lafdruel . bepax . box . nux . bu . In
nomine patris rex mariæ . Jesus Christus dominus meus . Jesus + .
Eonfra . senioribus . H . hrinlur . her . letus contra me . hee . larrhibus
excitatio pacis inter virum and mulierem A . B . and alfa tibi reddit
uota fructu leta . lita . tota . tauta . uel tellus et ade uirescit ."

D 8. AGAINST A SORCERESS

Against every wicked sorceress and against elfin influence, write for [the patient] this writing and these Greek letters:—

+ ⁺Α + + Ο + [•]Υ + ipByM + + + + + : BeroNNIKNETTANL

D 9. FOR AGUE

✕MMRMp . Nandp TX✕MREwNandpTX.

Again, a man must silently write the above and silently put those words on his left breast. And let him not go indoors with the writing, nor carry it indoors. And [he must] also silently put this on:—

HAMMANy°EL . BPONICe . NOY°ewTAy°EPG.

D 7. — 1. MS. *unintelligible between wille and to*; C. wille g to. 11. C. t for et.

D 8. — 3. C. + + A. C. Bepp.

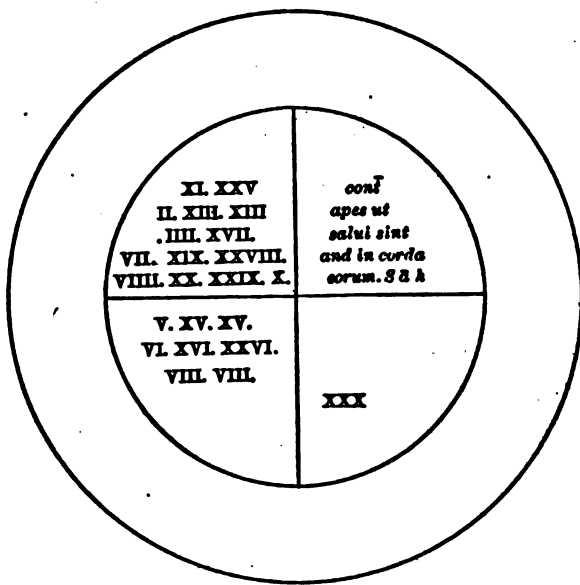
D 10. WID ŪTSIHTE

Þysne pistol sē ængel brōhte tō Rōme, þā hȳ wæran mid 183b
 ūtsihte micclum geswæncte. Writ þis on swā langum bōcfelle,
 þæt hit mæge befōn ūtan þæt hēafod, and hōh on þæs mannes
 swēoran, þe him þearf sȳ. Him bið sōna sēl:

5 Ranmigan adonai eltheos mur. O ineffabile Omiginan mid
 anmian misane | dimas mode mida memagartem Orta min sig- 184a
 mone beronice irritas uenas quasi dulap feruor fruxantis sangui-
 nis siccatur fla fracta frigula mirgui etsihdon segulta frautantur
 in arno midoninis abar uetho sydone multo saccula pp pppp
 10 sother sother miserere mei deus deus mini deus mi. λ)-(Ny
 Alleluiah. Alleluiah.

D 11. FELD-BÖT

Þis is Sancte Columcille Circul:



Writ þysne circul mid þines cnifes orde on ānum mealan 13b
 stāne, and slēah ænne stacan on middan þām ymbhagan; and
 lege þone stān on uppan þām stacan þæt hē bēo eall under eorðan
 5 būtan þām gewritenan.

D 10. — 10. The symbols are illegible; L. omits them. — 11. MS., All. All., with both
 "l's" crossed.

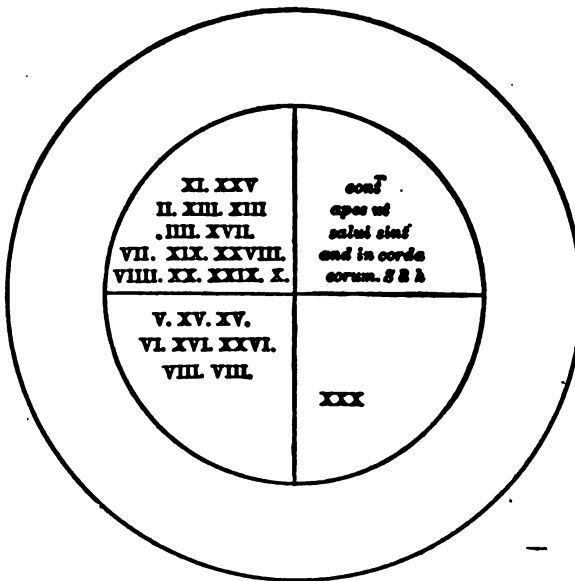
D 10. FOR DIARRHOEA

The angel brought this epistle to Rome when they were severely scourged with diarrhoea. Write this on a parchment so long that it can envelop the head outside, and hang it on the neck of the person who is in distress. He will soon be well:—

“Ranmigan adonai eltheos mur. O ineffabile Omiginan mid anmian misane dimas mode mida memagartem Orta min sigmone beronice irritas uenas quasi dulap feruor fruxantis sanguinis siccatur fla fracta frigula mirgui etsihdon segulta frautantur in arno midoninis abar uetho sydone multo saccula pp pppp sother sother miserere mei deus deus mini deus mi. ʌ)-(N y Alleluiah. Alleluiah.”

D 11. A FIELD REMEDY

This is St. Columbkil's circle:—



Inscribe this circle with the point of your knife on a meal stone, and drive a stake into the middle of the hedge surrounding your land; then lay the stone against the stake so that it will all be underground except the side written upon.

D 12. WID ÞEÖFENDE

Þonne þē man hwet forstele, āwrit þis swigende and dō on 13b
 þinne winstran scō under þinum hō. Þonne geācsaxt þū hit
 sōna.

er	hx
h	h
d	d
n	n
d	d
xh	hx

E 1. WID LÆTBYRDE

Sē wifman, sē hire cild āfēdan ne mæg, gange tō gewītenes 185b
 mannes birgenne, and stæppe þonne þriwa ofer þā byrgenne,
 and cweþe þonne þriwa þās word:

5 þis mē tō bōte þære lāþan læthyrd,
 þis mē tō bōte þære swæran swærtbyrde,
 þis mē tō bōte þære lāþan lambyrde.

And þonne þæt wif sēo mid bearne and hēo tō hyre hlāforde
 on reste gā, þonne cweþe hēo:

10 Ūp ic gonge, ofer þē stæppe
 mid cwican cilde, nalæs mid cwellendum,
 mid fulborennum nalæs mid fægan.

And þonne sēo mōdor gefēle þæt þæt bearn sī cwic, gā þonne
 tō cyrican, and þonne hēo tōforan þān wēofode cume, cweþe
 þonne:

15 Criste, ic sēde, þis gecyþed.

D 12. AGAINST THEFT

When a man steals anything from you, write this silently and put it in your left shoe under your heel. Then you will soon find out about it.

er	hx
h	h
d	d
n	n
d	d
xh	hx

E 1. FOR DELAYED BIRTH

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child go to the grave of a wise man, and step three times over the grave, and then say these words three times:—

“This be my cure for the loathsome late-birth,
This be my cure for the grievous swart-birth,
This be my cure for the loathsome lame-birth.”¹

And when the woman is with child and she goes to bed to her husband, then let her say, —

“Up I go, over you I step,
With a live child not with a dying one,
With a full-born child, not with a dead one.”

And when the mother feels that the child is quick, let her then go to church, and when she comes before the altar, let her then say:—

“By Christ, I said, this [miracle] has been manifested.”

¹ That is, imperfect birth.

Sē wifmon, sē hyre bearn āfēdan ne mæge, genime hēo sylf
hyre āgenes cildes gebyrgenne dæl, wrȳ æfter þonne on blace
wulle and bebigce tō cēpemannum, and cweþe þonne:

20 | Ic hit bebigce, ge hit bebigcan,
þās sweartan wulle and þysse sorge corn.

185b

Sē wifman, sē ne mæge bearn āfēdan, nime þonne ānes blēos
cū meoluc on hyre handa, and gesupe þonne mid hyre mūþe,
and gange þonne tō yrnendum wætere and spīwe þær in þā
meolc; and hlade þonne mid þære ylcan hand þās wæteres
25 mūðfulne and forswelge. Cweþe þonne þās word:

Gehwēr fērde ic mē þone mæran maga þihtan
mid þysse mæran mete þihtan;
þonne ic mē wille habban and hām gān.

þonne hēo tō þān brōce gā, þonne ne besēo hēo, nō ne eft
30 þonne hēo þanan gā; and þonne gā hēo in oþer hūs oþer hēo ūt
ofēode and þær gebyrge metes.

E 2. WIÐ YLFA GESCOTUM

Gif hors ofscoten sīe, nim þonne þæt seax þe þæt hæfte sīe 106a
fealo hrȳþeres horn, and sīen III ærene næglas on. Writ þonne
þām horse on þām hēafde foran crīstes mæl, þæt hit blēde; writ
þonne on þām hricge crīstes mæl, and on leoþa gehwilcūm þe þū
5 ætfēolan mæge. Nim þonne þæt winestre ēare, þurhsting
swīgende. Þis þū scealt dōn: Genim āne girde, slēah on þæt
bæc, þonne biþ þæt hors hāl. And āwrit on þæs seaxes horne
þās word:

Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum.

10 Sȳ þæt ylfa þe him sīe, þis him mæg tō bōte.

E 3. WIÐ MŌNADSEOCNESSE

Wiþ þon þe mon sīe mōnaþ sēoc, nim mereswīnes fel, wyrce 120a
tō swipan; swing mid þone man: sōna bið sēl. Amen.

E 4. WIÐ SWĪNA FĒR-STEORFAN

Dōa in heora mete: sēoð glidan, syle etan; nim ēac elehtran, 178a
bīscopwyr̥t and cassuc, ðēfeporn, hegerifan, haranspicel. Sing
ofer fēower mæssan, drif on fald, hōh ðā wyrte on fēower healfē
and on þān dore, bærn, dō rēcels tō. Læt yrnān ofer þone rēc.

E 1. — 16. K. wifman. — 17. K. pry. K. ðon or. — 21. MS., C. man for wifman.
MS., C. æc þe; K. seðe ne. — 22. MS., C. hande. — 24. W. meocl. — 28. K. ðone.
— 29. K. omits ne before besco.

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child, herself take some [earth] from the grave of one of her own children, wrap it up afterwards in black wool, sell it to merchants, and then say:—

“I sell it or have sold it,
This evil wool and the grains of this woe.”

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child take, in her palm, the milk of a cow of one color and sop it up with her mouth, and then go to running water and spit the milk therein; and with the same hand let her scoop up a mouthful of the water and swallow it. Let her then say these words:—

“Always have I carried with me this great strong hero,
Through this famous food, a hero.
Then I wish to have it and go home.”

When she goes to the brook, then let her not look around, nor yet when she goes thence; and let her thereafter go into a house other than the one from which she set out, and there let her take food.

E 2. FOR ELF-SHOT

If a horse is elf-struck, take a knife of which the handle is horn from a tawny ox and on which are three brass nails. Then inscribe a cross on the horse's forehead until it bleed; next mark a cross on [the animal's] back and on each of its limbs that you can hold on to. Then grasp the left ear, pierce it in silence. This you must do: take a stick, strike [the horse] on its back, then it will be well. And on the horn of the knife inscribe these words:—

“Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum.”

Be the elf who he may, this will suffice as a cure for him.

E 3. FOR LUNACY

If a man is demented, take the skin of a porpoise, make it into a whip, flog the man with it: he will soon be well. Amen. —

E 4. FOR SUDDEN PESTILENCE AMONG SWINE

Put into their food:—boil iris, give it [them] to eat; also take lupine, bishopswort and hassock, buckthorn, hairif, viper's bugloss. Sing four masses over [the herbs], drive [the swine] into the fold. Hang the herbs on the four sides and on the door, burn them, add frankincense. Let the smoke pour over [the animals].

E 2. — 1. L. pe. — 3. C. *omits* þæt hit . . . cristes mæl.

E 4. — 1. C. do a.

E 5. WIÐ ÞĀ STĪÞESTAN FĒFERAS

Genim þās sylfan wyrte, [smeoruwyrte], and gedrige hŷ; 27b
smoca þonne þærmid. Hēo āfligð nalæs þone fēfer ēac swylce
dēofulsēcnyssa.

E 6. WIÐ DWEORH

Writ ðis ondlang ðā earmas wið dweorh: 164b

+t+ŵ Ā

and gnīd cŷleðēnigean on ealað. Sanctus Macutus, sancte
Victorici. | Writ þis ondlang ðā earmas wið dweorh: 165a

5 +t+p+t+N+w+t+m+M+ŵ Ā

and gnīd cŷleþēnigean on ealað. Sanctus Macutus, sancte
Victorici.

E 7. WIÐ BLŌDRENE OF NOSU

Wið blōdrene of nosu, wriht tō his forhēafod on Cristes mēl: 19

Stomen
Stomen meafodu +
Stomen calcos +

E 8. WIÐ ÆLFCYNNE

Wyrsc sealfe wið ælfcynne and nihtgengan and þām mannun 123a
þe dēofol midhæmð. Genim ēowohumelan, wermōd, bisceop-
wyrte, elehtre, æschrote, beolone, hārewyrte, haransprecel,
hæþbergean wisan, crāwlēac, gārlēac, hegerifan corn, gyprife,
5 finul. Dō þās wyrta on ān fæt, sete under wēofod, sing ofer
VIII mæssan, āwyl on buteran and on scēapes smerwe, dō
hāliges sealtes fela on, āsēoh þurh clāð; weorp þā wyrta on
yrnende wæter. Gif men hwilc yfel costung weorþe, oþþe ælf
| oþþe nihtgengan, smire his andwlitan mid þisse sealfe, and on 123b
10 his ēagan dō, and þær him sē lichoma sār sīe, and rēcelsa hine,
and sēna gelōme. His þing biþ sōna sēle.

E 5.—MSS. = V., B., H. Ed. = C. — H. þæ. H., V., C. stīpustan. — 1. B. gedrig hig. —
2. H. mænge hī smoca by þoð. B. þarmid. B. nælæs; H. nælæs. — 3. B. seocnessa; H.
seocnesse.

E 5. FOR THE STUBBORNEST FEVERS

Take the same herb, [smerewort], and dry it; then smoke the patient with it. It will drive away not only the fever but also demoniacal possession.

E 6. AGAINST A DWARF

Against a dwarf write this along the arms:—

+t+ \bar{w} \bar{A}

and crumble celandine into ale. St. Macutus, St. Victoricus. Against a dwarf write this along the arms:—

+t+p+t+N+w+t+m+M+ \bar{w} + \bar{A}

and crumble celandine into ale. St. Macutus, St. Victoricus.

E 7. FOR NOSE-BLEED

For a hemorrhage at the nose: inscribe [the following] crosswise on the sufferer's forehead:

	Stomen	
Stomen	calcos +	
	metofu	
	+	

E 8. AGAINST THE ELFIN RACE

Make a salve against the elfin race and against nocturnal demons and against the women whom the fiend cohabits with. Take the female hop-plant, wormwood, bishopswort, lupine, vervain, henbane, harewort, viper's bugloss, whortleberry plants, crow-leek, garlic, hairif grains, cockle, fennel. Put the herbs into a vessel, place them under the altar, sing nine masses over them, boil them in butter and in sheep's grease, add plenty of consecrated salt, strain through a cloth; throw the herbs into running water. If any wicked temptation come to a man, or an elf or a nocturnal demon [assail him], smear his forehead with this salve, and put some on his eyes and some where his body is sore; and perfume him with incense, and repeatedly sign him with the sign of the cross. His condition will soon be better.

E 6. — 1 L. da. — 2 C. \bar{a} ; L. omits \bar{A} . — 3. MS., L. \bar{a} for sanctus. — 5. C. m + \bar{a} .

E 7. — 1. C. wid.

E 8. — 4. C., L. cropleac. — 6. L. IX.

E 9. WIÐ NÆDRAN BITE

Sume ān word wið nædran bite lærað tō cweþenne, þæt is: 43a
 "faul." Ne mæg him derian. Wið nædran slite, gif hē beget and
 yt rinde sio þe cymð of neornawonge, ne dereð him nān
 ātter.

E 10. WIÐ WYRT-FORBORE

Gif mon sie wyrtum forboren, sele springwyr̃t þæt hē ete, 43b
 and hāligwæter sūpe. Wiþ þon þe mon sie forboren, gif hē
 hæfþ on him scyttisc weax, þā smalan āttorlāðan, oððe on
 āwyldum ealað drince, ne mæg hine wyrtum forberan.

E 11. WIÐ DWEORG

Dweorg on weg tō donne: hwites hundes þost gecnucadne 46a
 tō dūste and gemenged wið meluwe and tō cicle ābacen; syle
 etan þām untruman men, ær þære tide hys tōcymes, swā on
 dæge swā on nihte swæþer hyt sý. His tōgān bið ðearle strang;
 5 and æfter þām hē lytlað and on weg gewiteþ.

E 12. WIÐ WIFGEMÆDLAN

Geberge on neahtnestig rædices moran. þý dæge ne mæg þē 122b
 sē gemædla sceþþan.

E 13. WIÐ WENNUM

Gif wænnas eglīan mæn æt þære heortan, gange mædenman 189a
 tō wylle þe rihte ēast yrne, and gehlade āne cuppan fulle forð
 mid ðām strēame, and singe þæron Crēdan and Paternoster;
 and gēote þonne on oþer fæt, and hlade eft oþre, and singe eft
 5 Crēdan and Paternoster, and dō swā, þæt þū hæbbe þreo. Dō
 swā nygon dagas; sōna him bið sēl.

E 14. WIÐ ÆLFE AND WIÐ SIDSAN

Wið ælfe and wiþ uncūþum sidsan, gnid myrran on wīn and 107b
 hwites rēcelses emmicel, and sceaf gagātes dæl þæs stānes on
 þæt wīn. Drince III morgenas | neahtnestig, oþþe VIII oþþe 108a
 XII.

E. 11. MSS. = V., B., O. Ed. = C. — 1. C. dreorg. B. gecnocodne. — 2. B. gemenged;
 V. gemengen. V., C. melowe. — 3. V. þær; B. þære. — 4. V. wawa on for swa on.
 B. swa hwper.

E 9. AGAINST SNAKE-BITE

Against snake-bite, some advise us to pronounce one word, that is, "Faul;" [then] it will not be able to damage him. For a bite made by a snake, if the sufferer procure and eat the rind which comes from Paradise, no poison will injure him.

E 10. FOR SEXUAL CONSTRICTION

If a man is sexually restrained by herbs, give him the caper-plant to eat and let him drink holy water. Should a man be restrained: if he have Scotch wax [and] the slender betony on his person — or let him drink [them] in boiled ale — he cannot be restrained by herbs.

E 11. AGAINST A DWARF

To drive away a dwarf: the dung of a white dog pounded to a dust and mixed with flour and baked to a cake; give it the afflicted person to eat before the time of the dwarf's arrival, either in the daytime or at night, whichever it may be. His attack will [at first] be exceedingly severe, but after that it will abate and completely pass away.

E 12. AGAINST A WITCH'S SPELL

After fasting for a night, eat the root of a radish. On that day the spell will not have power to harm you.

E 13. FOR WENS

If tumors near the heart afflict a man, let a virgin go to a spring which runs due east, and draw a cupful, moving [the cup] with the current, and sing upon it the *Creed* and a *Paternoster*; and then pour it into another vessel, and thereafter draw some more, and again sing the *Creed* and a *Paternoster*, and do this until you have three [cups full]. Do this so for nine days: he will soon be well.

E 14. AGAINST AN ELF AND AGAINST CHARM-MAGIC

Against an elf and against strange charm-magic: into wine crumble myrrh and an equal portion of white frankincense, and shave a part of the stone, jet, into the wine. After fasting at night, drink this for three or for nine or for twelve mornings.

E 13. — 2. K. rht.

E 14. — 3. L. IX.

NOTES

A 1

MS. — Harley 585, p. 175 a.

Editions. — Wr. ii, 237; G. ii, 1039; K. i, 403; E. 302; B. i, lxxxv; R. 142; C. iii, 52; S. 122; WA. 33; W. i, 317.

Translations. — English: C. iii, 53; Stallybrass, iii, 1244; Brooke, 159; Gum. 372; Cook and Tinker, 168. — German: G. ii, 1040; B. i, lxxxvii; Kögel, i, 93.

Criticisms. — G. ii, 1039; K. i, 403; B. i, 88; Ten Brink, i, 66; Brooke, 159; Kögel, i, 93 ff.

Analysis. — The spell is intended to cure a sudden twinge or stitch, possibly rheumatism, supposedly due (see lines 3, 8, 19, 23, and 24) to shots sent by witches, elves, and other spirits flying through the air. The charm falls naturally into five divisions: 1 (lines 1-2), A recipe for a magic herbal concoction; 2 (lines 2-5), The epic introduction; 3 (lines 6-17), The attack of the flying demons and the exorcist's three retaliatory measures, — flying dart, knife forged by the smith, and spears wrought by six smiths; 4 (lines 18-28), The principal incantation; 5 (line 29), A final direction to the exorcist.

A similar charm is found among the Finns (see Comparetti, 273 ff.), but the epic elements are missing. Spears and arrows have been hurled by a malignant sorcerer, while the healing exorcist threatens to attack the evil one with magic pincers made by the great smith Ilmarinen. Another Finnish charm against stitch is in Aber. i, 345. Cf. also the remedy in EE 15 for "hwæt-hwega þæs þe fram scottum come."

Wið Færstice. — "Gegen Hexenstich" is the German title for such charms. Other charms for shots are DD 12, EE 2, and EE 27.

3. — Cf. the myth of the "furious host," or "wild hunt," a hideous rout of spirits led by Woden in the capacity of god of the winds and the tempest (see Grimm, ii, 765; and Mogk in Grdr. 1002). An Icelandic charm against witches riding through the air is in *Hávamál*, 154.

6. — *Ūt, lǽtel spere*, etc. — This formula occurs four times in Part 3, of which it forms the keynote. It is stated at the beginning, and repeated after the mention of each counter-measure. At its fourth appearance it reads, "Out spear, not in, spear." Cf. the formula "In dock, out nettle," common in the north of England as a spell for nettle-sting (Henderson, 17), and used to express inconstancy in Chaucer's *Troil. and Cris.* iv, 461: "*Nelle in, dokke out, now this, now that Pandare.*" Cf. also "*Gang ut, nesso,*" a formula in the OHG. charm against worms (*Denkm.* i, 17); and "Out fire, in frost," common in England (*F. L. S., passim*).

8. — *Mihtigan wiſ*. A conciliatory, flattering expression like *sigewiſ* in A 4.

13. — *Sæt smið*. Wayland possibly. Cf. Ilmarinen, above.

14. — *Iserna wund*. A half-line appears to be missing. Rieger expands into *Iserna vræðost vundrum sviðe*. Kögel changes to *Isern ðwund sviðe*. *Awund* is formed like *ðwðh* (= *mid wðge*, etc.), and means *valde vulnerans* (= *stark im verwunden*). The translation would be "A smith sat, he wrought a little knife, a sharp cutting-iron."

16. — Meyer (160) declares that the smiths were undoubtedly elves.

20. — The concatenation in lines 20-22 resembles that in lines 6-8 of the Merseburg dislocation spell (*Denkm.* i, 16).

21. — The second half-line was first inserted by Grimm; other Edd. followed.

23. — The degradation of the gods, who are mentioned in one breath with elves and witches, is due to Christian influence. With *æsa gescot* cf. *Indra* shots in *AV.* iv, 37; with *ylfa gescot* cf. German *Alpschoss* (Meyer, 155), Swed. *aelfqværn*, Eng. *elfstone*, Norw. *al/pil*, Scotch *elf-flint*, *elf-arrow*, *elf-bolt*. In Scotland, elf-bolts were long believed to be actual missiles such as those referred to in the charm. Sick cattle in Norway are still called *aeliskudt* (= "elf-shot"). Later superstition spoke of shots sent by the Devil. See spell *Contre sagittam diaboli* (Grimm, ii, 1032). Cf., further, *þā dǫrfu jœhltende scuton heora fýrenan þan on gēan ðā sǣde* (*Ælf.*, *Hom.* ii, 142). Shots of fiends arouse unholy desires in men (see *Beowulf*, 1743-47).

27. — *Flēoh*, etc. A command formula (cf. charac. 4, p. 115). Witches and spirits generally, were, in later folk-lore, believed to live in hills, rocks, wildernesses, etc. (see Grimm, ii, 795 ff.). The same formula is found in a Syriac charm (see *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.* xv, 284). — C. translates the line "Fled Thor to the mountain. Hallows he had two." K.'s reading agrees with C.'s; so that W., in footnote to (his) line 27, erroneously quotes K. — G. first inserted the second half-line; W. omits it.

29. — *Seax*. The knife is apparently to be used on some dummy representing the evil spirits (cf. charac. 9, p. 119 [association of ideas]).

A 2

MS. — Harley 585, p. 167 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 42; W. i, 326; Sch. (in *Angl.* xxx, 257) prints the verse only.

Translations. — C. iii, 42; Brooke, 473; Sch. in *Angl.* 258.

Criticism. — Brooke, 473.

Analysis. — The charm falls into two main divisions: A (lines 1-8), comprising directions for a superstitious ceremonial; B (lines 9-21), including the incantatory portion. In part A, lines 1-3 form a Christian preface to the superstitious ritual of lines 4-8. Part B is a characteristic Heathen spell with an epic passage (lines 9-16) and an "Amen fiat" tacked on at the end to save appearances.

Wülker (i, 326, note to line 12) concludes from line 16 that the charm is for a tumor on the neck. The inference is open to question. From E 11, also against a dwarf, one would conclude that some paroxysmal disease was meant. Cf. Cockayne, i, 364, and iii, 38. I take *hit*, line 7, to refer to the *spider-wicht* of line 9. The spider cure is a common one in folk-lore (see Black, 59 ff.; and *Suffolk*, 21). Spiders were hung around the neck, the arm, etc., irrespective of the seat of the disease. — The incantatory passage is full of obscurities, but the general meaning can be puzzled out. *þū* (line 11) refers to the plaguing dwarf responsible for the attack; and the sense is that the spider wight is to ride off, using the dwarf-demon as his horse (cf. demons riding men [Grimm, i, 384]). As soon as they have ridden away, the wounds begin to cool. — From line 17, it would appear that the spell was first pronounced by some woman famed for her charm-lore (cf. the spells of Groa [see *Grögaldr* in *Svipdagsmál*). For the importance of women as exorcists in early Germanic times, see Meyer, 306 ff., and Gum. 389).

4. — *Maximianus*, etc. The famous seven youths of Ephesus who slept in Mt. Celion for 230 years. The same persons are invoked in AA 15. In AA 14, "for fever," the sleepers are (less usually) named Eugenius, Stephanus, Portarius, Dyonisius, Sambucius, Cecilius, Cyriacus.

10. — *Haman, hama* = *camus*.

12. — *Legeb hē*, etc. The reconstruction is Schlutter's.

19. — *Galdor begytan*, etc., and *galdor ongalan*, etc., in the next line, point to specific ability demanded of exorcismal craftsmen.

A 3

MS. — Royal 4 A xiv, p. 23 a.

Editions. — Bi. 485; Z². in *Z/dA*. xxxi, 45.

Translations. — Bi. 485; Z². 47; Black, 169.

Analysis. — This is a quaint charm, quite unlike any other in the A group: it lacks the epic passage and the heroic style characteristic of the poetic incantations. The exorcist first uses a command formula (lines 1-3), then adopts a persuasive tone in lines 4-5, only to return to another command in lines 6-7, and to a typical exorcism (lines 8-13) based on similitude (see charac. 9, p. 119). The passage includes a series of six similes, whose force rests on sympathy between the respective similes and the desired extinction of the *wen*.

3. — *pā . . . berhge*. Cf. *Flōh pār*, etc. (A 1, line 27). The same command is given to the *Plague* in a Finnish song (Shrōter, 60).

6. — Cf. "on the bear's paw, on the wolf's claw and on the eagle beak," in *Sigrdrifumál*, 16. For the eagle's influence in similar cases, see spells in AV. i, 153.3 and 296.1.

9. — *Scearn āwāge*. The MS. reading *scesne awage* is unintelligible. Z². suggests *scearn*, and *āwāge* may be taken for *on wāge*.

A 4

MS. — Corpus Christi, 41, p. 202.

Editions. — G. i, 358 and ii, 1040; K. i, 404 (lines 7-11 only); R. 143 (lines 7-11); C. i, 384; S. 122; Z. 189 ff.; WA. 34; W. i, 319.

Translations. — *English*: C. i, 385; K. i, 404; Stallybrass, i, 431 and iii, 1245; Brooke, 155; Cook and Tinker, 167. — *German*: Z. 189 ff.

Criticisms. — Z. i, 189 ff.; Brooke, 156.

Analysis. — The charm is in two parts: the first consisting of the introduction and of the first speech; the second, of the directions and of the concluding speech. The second part was long believed to be a separate spell referring to the Valkyries (cf. *sigewif*, line 8). Grimm noticed a connection between the passages, but Cockayne first printed the complete charm.

The spell reveals affinities with the OHG. *Lorscher Bienensegen* (*Denkm.* i, 34), and with other German spells in *Denkm.* ii, 90 ff. Also cf. the Latin bee spells in *Analecta Graciensa*, No. 2; in Grimm, ii, 1032; ii, 1037; and in *Zupitsa*, 191. DD 1 is an AS. amulet charm for loss of bees.

For superstitions about bees, see Grimm, ii, 579 ff., and 755, note 1; Gum. 45; F. L. S. xxxvi, Part II, 5 ff.; Germ. i, 107.

1. — Cf. *Et lange terram utraque manu et dic . . .* in epilepsy spell (*Denkm.* ii, 300).

3. — *Fō ic*, etc. Cf. *Vro unde Lazakere giengen jold petretton* (= "went to

tread the earth") in *Strassburger Blutsegen* (*Denkm.* i, 18). — W. makes *junde* optative.

4. — *Eorðe mæg*, etc. The earth spirit is meant (cf. B 5, line 14).

6. — "Mighty man" may be a flattering designation of the sorcerer who is held responsible for the swarming (cf. charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

7. — C. adds *and wið on* to line 6, and translates "and against displeasure." Z. *wiðon, wiððon* (= *dagegen*). W. suggests *Wið ðon þonna* (or *þæt*) *hi swir- man, forweorþ oþer grēot and cweð*.

8. — *Sille gē, sigewif*. Cf. *sisi, sisi, bīna*, in *Lorscher Bienensegen*. — *Sigewif* was an appellation of the Valkyries, and is probably used here with the idea of mollifying or conciliating the rebellious spirit of the bees. Perhaps there was also an idea of the bees being "servants of Woden," for we find them called "*ancillæ dei*" in a Latin charm (*Anal. Græc.* No. 2). Kögel thinks *sigewif* a title like that in "Lady bird, lady bird, fly away home."

9. — *Nāfre gē*, etc. Cf. *Zi holce ne fluc du*, in *Lorscher Bienensegen*.

A 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 136 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 10; L. 125.

Translations. — C. iii, 11; *Eng. Med.* 122.

Worms in men and beasts were regarded as elfish demons (see Grimm, ii, 968; and Kuhn, 135). In *Sal and Sat.*, line 305, we read of demons that

"Hwflum flotan gripað,
hwflum hie gewendað on wyrmes lic
scearpes and sticoles, stingað nýten,
... feoh gestrūdað."

Spells against worms abound in the several Indo-European languages. In Hindu, Teutonic, and Slavic spells alike, the worms are described as having definite colors, — chiefly black, white, red, — and males and females are separately mentioned as in the AS. charm. Thus the worm spell in *AV.* ii, 23, speaks of

"All the worms that are male and all that are female,
Their heads will I cleave with a stone, their jaws will I burn with fire."

Other Hindu worm spells in *AV.* ii, 31 and 32. Cf. also the OHG. incantation *Contra Vermes* (*Denkm.* i, 17); the AS. charm remedies EE 17 and EE 22; the charms in Grimm, ii, 1032; and iii, 500; and those in *Denkm.* i, 181.

4. — Lines 4–8 form a jingle charm (see Group A, II (a), pp. 125 ff.). Owing to the effort which these jingles imposed on the memory, they doubtless suffered from successive transmissions. The following rearrangement is suggested as more closely resembling the characteristics of the jingle charm: —

"Gonomil, orgomil, marbumil,
tofeð tengo marbasirramum,
biran duill docuillo,
cuiðar cæfmil marbasirramum,
sculht cuið, sculht cullo."

This jingle is referred to in BB 4 as the "worm charm."

11. — *Spalle*. For spitting as a charm procedure, see Crombie, 249; and cf. charac. 10, p. 122.

A 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 178 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 58; L. 145.

Translation. — C. iii, 59.

A jingle charm (cf. pp. 125 ff.).

A 7

MS. — Harley 585, p. 182 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 62; L. 148.

Translation. — C. iii, 63.

Also a jingle charm (cf. Group A, II (a), p. 125).

A 8

MS. — Cotton Faustina A x, p. 116 a.

Edition. — C. iii, 294.

3. — A very similar jingle is found in B 6 (see notes to that charm; cf. also the gibberish formula in D 10, an amulet charm).

A 9

MS. — Harley 585, p. 182 a.

Editions. — K. i, 528; C. iii, 62; L. 147.

Translations. — C. iii, 63; *Eng. Med.* 136.

Criticism. — *Eng. Med.* 136.

Analysis. — See p. 127. The spell really constitutes a "command" formula (see charac. 4, p. 112). *Noðæ* is apparently the demon whose nine sisters are blamed for the disease. The name may be a corrupt form of a word which originally designated the scrofulous glands which the charm is to cure. Marcellus (xv, 102) has a similar spell for "glands:" *novem glandulæ sorores, octo glandulæ sorores*, etc., down to *una glandula soror*, and ending with *nulla fit glandula*. In the OS. *Segen "Contra Vermes"* (*Denkm.* i, 17), we read, "Go out nesso, with your nine young ones." A Russian spell mentions nine sisters who plague mankind with fevers (see Grimm, ii, 966). Nine was a favorite number in Germanic folk-lore (cf. charac. 10, p. 122; also cf. the nine Valkyries, our modern "nine days' wonder," etc.).

Charm A 9 has been preserved in several modern English versions, among others in the following Cornish jingle, —

Charm for a Tetter

"Tetter, tetter, thou hast nine brothers,
God bless the flesh and preserve the bone,
Perish thou tetter and be thou gone.

In the name, etc.

Tetter, tetter, thou hast eight brothers," —

and so on, till Tetter, having no brother, is imperatively ordered to be gone (see Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* [London, 1896], 414).

10. — *Tð nānum*. Cf. A 3, line 13.

11. — *Weormes* instead of *wurmes* (see Sievers in *P. B. B.* ix, 202).

A 10

MS. — Harley 585, p. 135 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 8; L. 124.

Translations. — C. iii, 9; *Eng. Med.* 120.

Criticism. — *Eng. Med.* 120.

The superstition that toothache was caused by worms gnawing at the teeth, was a widespread one (see Flemish, German, and Hindu charms in Kuhn, 145 ff.; and Middle and Modern English charms in *F. L. S.*, *passim*). Shakespeare refers to the belief in *Much Ado*, III, ii, 26.

"D. Pedro. What! Sigh for the toothache?

Leon. Where is but a humor or a worm."

In Madagascar the sufferer from toothache is said to be *maròry olitra* ("poorly through the worm") (see *Folk-Lore Record*, ii, 36). In Manx, toothache is *Beishlyn*, the plural form of *Beishl* (= "a beast") (Kelly, *Manx Dictionary*); and in Gaelic, *cnuimh* ("a worm") forms half the name of toothache, which is *cnuimh jhiacall* (McLeod and Dewar, *Gaelic Dictionary*). For worms as demons, see notes to A 5. Toothache is attributed to a devil in AA 4.

2. — *Caio laio*, etc. One may suppose that a monkish hand added a formula from a Latin charm to the original OE. spell. Through successive transcriptions the changed formula grew unintelligible. *Caio laio* probably stands for *Gaio Scio*, used in Latin charms for "a certain person;" as we say, "A or B" (see *Eng. Med.* 120).

3. — *Nemne*, etc. Cf. charac. 6, p. 117. — *Lilumenne*. Probably the name of some spirit here appealed to, perhaps simply a mystic word (cf. characs. 2 and 3, pp. 112 ff.).

4. — *Côliað*. An Anglian form (cf. Sievers, ¶ 412, Anm. 5).

A 11

MS. — Harley 585, p. 186 a.

Editions. — K. i, 529; C. iii, 70; L. 150.

Translation. — C. iii, 71.

Analysis. — Lines 1-4 state the ceremonial directions; lines 5-7, the incantation. The latter is a rhythmical but unintelligible mixture of liturgical Latin and gibberish. Another charm against erysipelas is AA 6; it is devoid of the superstitious ritual of A 11 and A 12.

4. — *Ongēan strēam*. Cf. *mid þām strēame* in E 13, line 3. In both cases the object is to get the force of the running water to assist in driving away disease (see charac. 10, p. 121).

6. — *Crux mihi*, etc. See pp. 147 ff. The same formula is found in A 19.

A 12

MS. — Harley 585, p. 186 b.

Editions. — K. i, 530; C. iii, 70; L. 150.

Translation. — C. iii, 71.

Cf. notes to A 11.

2. — *Bestric hine*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121.

A 13

MSS. — Cotton Caligula A vii, p. 171 a; Bodley Junius, 85, p. 103.

Editions. — N. 147; T. 116; G. ii, 1033; K. i, 531; Kl. i, 251; E. 300; R. 143; C. i, 398; RT. 148; WA. 30; W. i, 312.

Translations. — *English*: C. i, 399; Stallybrass, iii, 1236; Brooke, 157; Gum. 405; Cook and Tinker, 164. — *German*: G. ii, 1034.

Criticisms. — G. ii, 1034; WG. 348 ff.; Brooke, 157; Gum. 406.

Analysis. — This charm contains incantations and ceremonial instructions intended to drive away the demons or sorcerers whose activities have caused a farm-land to become barren. For an analysis of the piece, see pp. 155 ff. The ceremonies for "releasing" the bewitched fields were probably akin to ancient ceremonies in honor of the earth goddess, who alone could bestow bountiful crops (see Mannhardt, 158, 317, and 553 ff.; and Pfannenschmid, 50 ff. and 84 ff. In 936, a German abbess established ceremonies to take the place of the former "heathen processions about the fields" (Pfannenschmid, 50). For a restored ritual to insure fruitfulness during the ensuing year, see Chantepie, 375 ff.

4. — *Tyrj.* For various symbolic uses of turf, see RA. 118 ff.

7. — Hard woods like the beech and oak did not need sanctification. Cf. "Only of soft wood, not hard" (RA. 506).

11. — *Crescite*, etc. See Gen. i, 28, and pp. 147 ff.

27. — *Eastward*, etc. There is reason to believe that this incantation was originally a prayer to the sun god, with incidental invocations to the spirits of the earth and of the heavenly vault. Line 30 clearly indicates a belief in the two latter divinities. With regard to the worship of the sun god, the direction in line 40 — "Turn thrice with the course of the sun" — lends color to my assumption. A sun cult seems to have existed among almost all nations living in cold or temperate climates (see Grimm, i, 25, and ii, 587), and there was a well-nigh universal doctrine that sunrise was fatal to evil spirits of every kind (see Gum. 411; and P. C. ii, 287).

30. — *Upheofon*. Cf. *uphimil* in *Heliand*, 88, 15. For the cult of the over-arching sky, see P. C. i, 322 ff.

40. — *III*. Here and in lines 43 and 82 the numeral = *priwa*.

48. — *Gegaderie*, etc. For customs connected with hallowing the plough, see Mannhardt, 563. Apropos of the antiquity of such customs is an old Hindu ceremony once common in Lahore. "The zamindárs go to their fields with seven leaves of the akh, which they place on the harrow, and on the leaves some parched rice and sugar, and then burn incense" (*Roman-Urdu Journal*, Lahore, 1880, iii, 11).

52. — *Erce*, *erce*, *erce*. Probably an incantatory phrase like *acra*, *arera*, *arnem*, in A 17 and in B 7, the meaning of which, if it ever had any, has been lost. Grimm (i, 210 ff.) considers *Erce* a feminine divinity, who, like Holda or Bertha, presides over tilling. See also ZfdA. v, 377 ff.; Simrock, 382; and Mannhardt, 298. — *Eor þan móðor*. Cf. "mother earth," in a Vedic spell (AV. i, 370.2).

56. — *Scira hersewæstma*. The MS. reading is meaningless. The text follows the emendation of Sch. xxx, 126. Schlutter believes that MS. *hense* stands for *herse* = OHG. *hirsî*. This seems more plausible than any other suggested reading.

73. — For sacrificial offerings in field and harvest customs, see Gum. 455. Doubtless the heaping of things on the turf was to symbolize the desired fruitfulness.

A 14

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 350.

Editions. — WA. 115; G. iii, 493; E. 303; C. i, 388; W. i, 328, and ii, 202; Sch. xxxi, 59.

Translations. — C. i, 389; Brooke, 474; Sch. xxxi, 61.

Criticism. — Sch. xxxi, 57 ff.

Analysis. — The charm is for protection against many evils, and is supposed to be recited by one about to start on a journey. The piece is paralleled by numerous German *Reisesegen*, among the most important of which are *Tobiassegen* (*Denkm.* i, 183); *Engelberger Segen* (Grimm, iii, 493); *Münchner Ausfahrisegen* (*Denkm.* i, 182); *Weingartner Segen* (*Denkm.* i, 18); "*Ein Segen*" (see A. E. Schönbach in *ZfdA.* xxix, 348). In the *Tobiassegen*, the angelic host, the twelve apostles, the four evangelists, St. Mary, St. Stephen, Abraham, David, etc., are invoked for the same purposes, and with much the same expressions as in our spell. All the travel charms are stamped with a decidedly Christian character. The AS. piece alone retains marked Heathen traits in such typical incantatory phrases as *sygegealdor ic begale*; *windas gefrān*; *wordsiġe and worcsiġe*; and in repeated references to "frightful monsters," "nightmare-demons," "belly-fiends," etc.

4. — *Egsan*. Perhaps the plague-demon is meant.

13. — *Abrame*, etc. See p. 149. Sch. interpolates, "May [the Lord] preserve me in health as, according to Holy Scripture, the creator of heaven preserved" Abram, etc.

23. — *Hand*, etc. The passage is obscure. Can it refer to a lifting of the hand over the head, an attitude that might have traditionally accompanied certain prayers? Elevation of the hands while praying was common enough (see Grimm, i, 28 ff.). — *Röf*. Sch. translates *zahl*.

25. — All Edd. end line 25 with *þæt mē bēo hand ofer heafod*, and begin line 26 with *Matheus helm*. The *hand ofer heafod* appears to me to be an accidental repetition of line 23. E. says that the phrase "e. versus 24 [here line 23], repetitum esse puto et hic delendum, ita ut: 'þæt mē bēo,' versum sequentem incipiat."

26. — *Marcus byrne*, etc. Cf. "*sante Michahēl wis-tu stn schilt und stn sper . . . Maria st stn halsperge*" (hauberk, *Engelberger segen*, lines 1 ff.); and cf. "*Die hailig dryfältigkait sy mir ain mantel für all min fiend*," "*Das hailig crūts sy min schilt*" (from *Ein Kreuzsegen*, ed. A. E. Schönbach in *ZfdA.* xxxiii, 393).

29. — *Seraphin*. E. says, "*Johannem vega Seraphin i. e. viarum tutor*." C. translates, "Ye Seraphim, guardians of the ways," as one sentence. The meaning is, of course, that John is the guardian saint of travellers.

32. — E. suggests these changes: "*siðjates gōdes, smiltra and lyhtra vinda varoðum, þæt ic vindas gefrān, cirrendu vater cymlicu hāleðe við eallum jeordum, jrðond*."

33. — *Windas gefrān*. Cf. *Ic āna wāt ēa* (B 4, line 58).

40. — C. translates, "and in the holy hand of the mighty one of heaven."

A 15

MSS. — Cotton Julius C ii, p. 97 b; Textus Roffensis, p. 50. — *Part I only*: Cotton Tiberius A iii, p. 103; Corpus Christi 190 (=A in textual notes), p. 130; Harley 438, p. 138 b. — *Part II only*: Corpus Christi 383 (=B in textual notes), p. 89.

Editions. — C. iii, 286; M. in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180. — *Part I only*: G⁴. iii, 493. — *Part II only*: Thorpe in *A. L.* 78; Leo, 56; Sd. 408; Li. i, 400.

Translations. — C. iii, 287. *Part II only*: Thorpe, 78; Leo, 57; Sd. 409; Li. i, 401.

Criticisms. — McBryde in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180 ff.; Sd. lxviii.

Analysis. — The piece is in two parts. Part I constitutes the actual charm for the recovery of the stolen property; Part II is a legal formula in which the rightful owner solemnly sets forth his title to the possessions in question. This rhythmical composition is printed separately in the various editions of the AS. laws. It was attached to Part I probably because it was recited as a sort of oath by the person who claimed goods which were recovered from thieves, or which were in disputed ownership. — Farmers were greatly bothered by cattle-thefts in AS. times; so much so, that cattle-stealing became as grave a crime as horse-stealing used to be in the West. The OE. laws consequently required witnesses to the transfer of such property, and invented a "team." "That is," says Cockayne (ii, xiv ff.), "when Z, who had lost oxen, claimed cattle in A's possession, A was bound by oath and by witnesses to show that he had them lawfully from B; B had to go through the same process and show that he received them honestly from C; thus a row of successive owners was revealed, ending in P, who had neglected to secure credible witnesses to his bargain, or in Q, who had bought them from the actual thief." On the other hand, B might, by oath and by witnesses, prove that the cattle had come to him rightfully as a bequest.

Part I has two divisions: A (lines 1-5), the ceremonial directions; B (lines 6-11), the charm formula. The charm formula has three *motifs* (see p. 158): (1) finding of the cross of Christ; (2) threat formula, "Abraham, Job," etc. (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.); (3) crucifixion of Christ by the Jews. These *motifs* express a sympathetic parallel between the similes and the desired results respectively of recovering the property, of frustrating the escape of the thieves, and of exposing the theft (see charac. 9, p. 119). *Motif* (3) is found in all four cattle charms; (1) is in A 21 and in A 22; (2) is not, as McBryde (182) declares, a distinct charm loosely strung together with other charms to form the complex A 15. Often several themes, each paralleling a desired end, were introduced in one spell (see, further, p. 158, note 4). English and German variants of this charm are printed by McBryde (182).

There are five AS. cattle charms: A 15, A 16, A 21, A 22, and AA 3. In the last-named, the superstitious directions are like those in A 15, but the formula is simply an enumeration of several saintly names.

PART I

8. — *Cruz Christi*, etc. In MS. Cambridge Corpus Christi 41, p. 207, Mr. McBryde found a formula composed of *motifs* (1) and (2), the latter greatly amplified (see *M. L. N.* xxi, 180). Of this formula he says, "A fragment of this charm appears in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass, iv, 1849)." He then quotes the "fragment." But the latter is simply theme (2) of Part I, A 15; and the entire part is printed in Grimm, iii, 493.

PART II

12. — *Becwæð and becwal*. This enumeration in alliterative pairs is a feature of Part II, and is present in many charms (see Ebermann, 53 ff., and cf. A 16 and B 5).

14. — *Fløre*. Lieberman translates, *Naturalienabgabe* (= "[payment with] natural products").

20f — *Ðe myntan* instead of *Ðæt yntan*. The first makes better sense, and receives warrant from line 34. C. translates, "and never will impair." — *Plōk*; namely, a plough of land.

A 16

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 226.

Editions. — WA. 114; C. i, 384; G⁴. iii, 492; W. i, 325.

Translation. — C. i, 385.

Analysis. — In this charm, lines 1–5 are in prose, are distinctly Christian, and contain three parallel themes: (1) the slaughter of the Innocents; (2) St. Helena and the finding of the Cross; (3) the crucifixion of Christ (see p. 158). Lines 6–19 are much more Heathen in tone, as is clearly shown by the rhythmical formula, the invocation to Garmund, the enumeration by alliterative pairs, the threats against the mischief-working sorcerer or demon (lines 13 ff.), and the similes in lines 16 and 17 (see p. 119).

8. — *Garmund*. Cf. charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.

16. — *Binnan*, etc. See charac. 5, p. 117.

A 17

MS. — Harley 585, p. 136 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 8; L. 125.

Translation. — C. iii, 9.

See substitution of Christian for Pagan ritual (pp. 149 ff.). — The formula lines 3–13 is a jingle charm (Group A, II (a), p. 125), in which many words recall the gibberish spells in B 7 and BB 4.

3. — C. and L. write the jingle in prose form.

14. — *Querite*, etc. See Matt. vii, 7.

15. — *Non amplius . . . arescas*. A formula found in several OHG. spells (e. g. *Denkm.* i, 18, No. 7; see also *Denkm.* ii, 54, and *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, 1870, i, 518). — *Super aspidem*, etc. See Ps. xci, 13.

A 18

MS. — Regius 12, D xvii, p. 53 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 42.

Translations. — C. ii, 141; *Eng. Med.* 121.

The four gossellers and St. Veronica are invoked in company with the idols Tiecon and Leleloth.

Lenctenāde (= "spring fever" = "ague"). See *Eng. Med.* 121.

1. — *Hramgealla* (= "ram-gall" = "Menyanthes"). See *Eng. Med.* 121.

8. — *Tiecon*, *Leleloth*. Arabian divinities (see Cockayne, ii, 141, note 3).

11. — *Beronice* (= Veronica). The maiden who handed her handkerchief to Jesus on His way to Calvary (see type 10, p. 158). The legend also forms part of charms A 24, D 8, D 9, and D 10. — *Et habet*, etc. From Rev. xix, 16.

15. — These mystic letters may have been substituted for earlier runes (see p. 124, note 6). The same symbols are recommended as an amulet remedy for the same illness (see D 4).

A 19

MS. — Harley 585, p. 181 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 62; L. 147.

Translation. — C. iii, 63.

1. — *Geurahi* belongs to *wreccan, wreahle*, and here means "foundered," the term used for a horse which has gone lame. Cf. *rahe* (= *gliedersteif*) in the charm "*Ad equos sanandos rahin*" (*Denkm.* ii, 302); cf. also the OHG. spells "*Contra rehin*" and "*Ad equum errehet*," in *Denkm.* ii, 303; and see numerous German charms for similiar equine sicknesses cited there.

2. — *Naborrede*. C. says, "This seems to be the Nabonnedus of Berosus, in whose reign Babylon was taken by Cyrus." Nabonidus (556-538 B. C.) was the last king of Babylonia.

3. — *Crux mihi*. Cf. A 11, line 6.

A 20

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 116 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 322; L. 98.

Translation. — C. ii, 323.

See replacement of Pagan by Christian formulas (pp. 149 ff.).

1. — *Liðwærce* (possibly "rheumatism"). See note to line 3, below.

2. — *Spáll*. See charac. 10, p. 122.

3. — *Malignus*, etc. A similar formula is found in AA 8: "*Ad articulorum dolorum malignantium*." Only the first line of the formula differs, reading "*diabolus ligavit*." Another triplet of this kind is found in a charm for fever: "*Christus tonat, angelus nunciat, Johannes predicat*" (see F. Holthausen, *Rezepte*, in *Angl.* xix, 78).

A 21

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 216.

Editions. — WA. 114; C. i, 390; G⁴. iii, 493; W. i, 324.

Translations. — C. i, 391; Brooke, 473.

Analysis. — This charm and A 22 differ from cattle spells A 15 and A 16 in the absence of Heathen features (see third class of spells, p. 156). — There are three parallel themes: (1) the fame of Bethlehem; (2) the loss and recovery of the cross; (3) the crucifixion of Christ (see types 8, 9, and 7 respectively, p. 158).

3. — *Bethlem*, etc. See charac. 1, p. 110. The same formula is found in AA 18.

9. — *Crux*, etc. See charac. 9, p. 119.

A 22

MS. — Harley 585, p. 180 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 61; W. i, 323.

Translations. — C. iii, 61; Cook and Tinker, 171.

Analysis. — A 22 is a slightly different version of A 21, and contains the same themes. In both charms the ceremonial is Christian, and the formulas are drawn from the Bible or from Christian legend (see pp. 147 ff.).

A 23

MS. — Bodley Junius 85, p. 17.

Edition. — C. i, 394.

Translation. — C. i, 394, note 1.

For the corrections in lines 1 and 5 of the text, I am indebted to Mr. J. M.

McBryde Jr.'s transcription of the MS. — See Group E, pp. 136 ff., for "spells against the Devil."

1. — *Writ ymb*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121.
3. — *Fuge, diabolus*, etc. A threat formula (see Christian substitutions, p. 149; and charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).
5. — III. — *þriwa*. Cf. A 13, line 40.

A 24

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 24.

Editions. — C. ii, 348; L. 106.

Translation. — C. ii, 349.

Criticism. — A short criticism of this charm is on p. 156. There are four formulas: two are sung over herbal drinks (namely, *Scriptum est*, etc. [line 12], and *Deus*, etc. [line 30]); two are recited over the patient (namely, *Deus*, etc. [line 16], and *Signum*, etc. [line 35]).

12. — *Byrnice*. The Veronica theme (see type 10, p. 158).
16. — *Deus*, etc., is the principal formula in the charm.
17. — *Nomen*. Here the name of the patient is to be pronounced (see charac. 6, p. 117).
18. — *Castalides* (= *dun elfen*). Elves of the down (Somner's *Glossaries in Dictionary Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, Oxford, 1659). — *De capite*, etc. This detailed enumeration is typical of charm-writings of Celtic origin (see F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, p. 369; and see the *Lorica* of Gilda; cf. p. 159, note 8).
27. — III. — *þriwa*. Cf. A 13, line 40; and A 23, line 5.

B 1

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C. iii (= V in textual notes), p. 68 a; Harley 6258 b (= O), p. 32 a; Hatton 76 (= B); Harley 585 (= H).

Editions. — C. i, 312; Be. 118.

Translation. — C. i, 313.

Cockayne's text is based on MS. V with readings from the other MSS. Berberich's text is taken from MS. O.

Analysis. — See analysis of B charms, p. 128. — The formula, lines 8–11, is apparently taken bodily from the *Herbarium* of Apuleius. — The heading "*Priapissi uica peruica*" is found in MS. O, at the end of the piece, and is followed by the words "*Satureon id est anglice hrefenes leac*" (see Berberich, 118, note). — In the margin of MS. O. (p. 32 a) are the words "*ad demoniacos, ad morsum serpentis jeras uenenum odium iracundiam ut habeas gratiam felix sis placens*." — BB 12, "For a Flux of Blood," is similar to B 1 in form and content.

1. — *Vica pervica* = the periwinkle. See "Herbs," Group D, p. 132.
3. — *Dēofolsēocnyssa*. See Group E, pp. 136 ff.
17. — *Clæne*. See charac. 10, p. 121.

B 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 57 a.

Editions. — Kl. i, 249; C. ii, 154; G⁴. ii, 1014; H. 47; L. 46.

Translations. — C. ii, 155; Eng. Med. 116; H. 49.

See analysis of Group B, p. 128.

1. — *Mucgwyrt*. See "Herbs," Group D, p. 132. For numerous superstitious uses of mugwort (*Artemisia*), see Cockayne, i, 102, xi; and i, 106, xiii; Grimm, ii, 1014; and Hoops, 48.

B 3

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 123 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 346; H. 53; L. 105.

Translations. — C. ii, 347; *Eng. Med.* 117; H. 53; Fischer, 33.

Elf-disease = bewitchment by elves. The disease was generally the same as nightmare (see Group E, pp. 136 ff.). — The ceremonial points to Heathenism (but see Grimm, ii, 1002 ff.), while the formulas are distinctly Christian. — See BB 14, for an elaborate ritual in the cure of elf-disease; also cf. EE 9 for the same disease. See law against gathering herbs, No. 3, p. 140.

1. — *Punresāfen*. Thursday was a day for special observances among the early Germans (see Grimm, i, 159).

4. — *Dag . . . scāde*. That is, at dawn.

14. — *Gloria*, etc. From Luke ii, 14.

15. — *Ymbwrit*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121. — *III*. Cockayne and *Eng. Med.* translate, "on three sides."

B 4

MS. — Harley 585, p. 160 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 30; WA. 34; W. i, 320; H. 56; L. 137 (lines 62-70 only).

Translations. — C. iii, 31; Brooke, 471; Cook and Tinker, 169; *Eng. Med.* 138; H. 57.

Criticisms. — WG. 351 ff.; Hoops, 56 ff.; Bradley, 144 ff.; *Eng. Med.* 137 ff.

Analysis. — The antiquity of the charm is attested by the plant-worship pointed to, the superstitious lore revealed, and the epic passages introduced. Judging from the obscurity of certain passages, the obvious misplacement of line 30, and the probable misplacement of other lines, such as 41-44, the piece must have passed through several hands. That it certainly underwent a Christian censorship is evident from lines 37-40, and from lines 46 and 57 respectively. — Four epic passages appear (see charac. 1, p. 110): namely, (1) lines 7-10; (2) line 28; (3) lines 31-33, citing an exploit of Woden; (4) lines 37-40, probably a Christian interpolation. — The nine plants are mentioned in the following order: (1) *mucgwyrt*, lines 1-6; (2) *wegbrāde*, lines 7-13; (3) *stīme*, lines 14-20; (4) *āttorlāðe*, lines 21-22; (5) *mægðe*, lines 23-26; (6) *wergulu*, lines 27-29; (7) *appel*, lines 31-35; (8) *fille* and (9) *finul*, both lines 36-40. They are again enumerated (lines 62-63) in the order (1) *mucgwyrt*, (2) *wegbrāde*, (3) *lombes cyrse*, (4) *āttorlāðe*, (5) *mægðe*, (6) *netele*, (7) *wūdusar-appel*, (8) *fille*, (9) *finul*. The second order agrees with the first except in Nos. 3 and 6. *Stīme* and *wergulu* in the first list are *lombes cyrse* and *netele* respectively in the second. *Stīme* and *wergulu* are not elsewhere found: they may be by-names or poetic names of *lombescyrse* and *netele* (cf. *Una*, line 3, a by-name of *mucgwyrt*), or merely older names of the same plants, obsolete or obsolescent when the prose passage (lines 62-70) was written. (But cf. *wergulu*, in note to line 27.) Other Edd. arrange as follows: —

C.

	<i>Lines.</i>
1. <i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).
2. <i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).
3. <i>stīme</i>	(14-17).
4. <i>āttorlāðe</i>	(18-20).
5. "blind nettle"	(21-22).
6. <i>mæge</i>	(23-26).
7. <i>wergulu</i>	(27-35).
8. <i>fills</i> }	(36-40).
9. <i>fnul</i> }	

W.

	<i>Lines.</i>
<i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).
<i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).
<i>stīme</i>	(14-15).
<i>stīde</i>	(16-20).
<i>āttorlāðe</i>	(21-22).
<i>mæge</i>	(23-26).
<i>wergulu</i>	(27-29).
<i>fills</i> }	(36-40).
<i>fnul</i> }	

H. AND BRADLEY

	<i>Lines.</i>
<i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).
<i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).
<i>stīme</i>	(14-17).
<i>āttorlāðe</i>	(18-22).
<i>mæge</i>	(23-26).
<i>wergulu</i>	(27-29).
<i>æppel</i>	(31-35).
<i>fills</i> }	(36-40).
<i>fnul</i> }	

For lines 41-44, see note to line 41. — C. and W. both omit *æppel* from their lists, and have an arrangement different from that in the prose enumeration (lines 62-64). C. (iii, 35, note 2) makes lines 21-22 refer to "blind nettle," despite the fact that line 21 clearly states *āttorlāðe*. W. (i, 321, note to 18) says, "C. has only eight herbs," and himself makes *stīde* (line 16) the name of another herb. I have substantially the same arrangement as Hoops and Bradley, but prefer to ascribe lines 18-20 to *stīme*, because the expression *þam lāðan ðe*, etc., in line 20, concludes the description of two other herbs, — viz., *wegbræde* and *mucgwyrt*, — and because the first line in the passage about each herb (except apple) will then contain the name of the herb. If the "apple" passage began with a line naming the apple, this line would come where line 30 now stands. It is probable that such a line existed and was lost, not only because the apple alone, of all the nine herbs, is not directly introduced, but because line 30 is palpably out of place. — For a survival in modern German folk-lore, of superstitions connected with nine herbs, see *WG.* 351.

2. — *Regenmelde*, like *Alorjorda*, line 24, is the name of a place. The translators have: C., *prime telling*; Cook and Tinker, *great proclamation*; H., *solemn proclamation*. Bradley says "*Ragnmald* occurs as a Northumbrian female personal name. This spelling (pointing to an umlaut *e*) suggests that *meld* may be a metathetic derivative of *mædel*. If so, the compound would be synonymous with the Old Norse *reginþing*, which is found (apparently as a mythic place-name) in the *Helgakviða*."

4. — This line is repeated in line 42. The meaning is probably "You will avail against three and thirty evil spirits." The multiples of 11 up to 100 were continually used by Teutonic and Hindu sorcerers (see Kuhn in *Zfvs.* xiii, 128 ff.). The number 33 was an especial favorite in Sanskrit writings: the gods number 33 (see *RV.* i, 34.11); other instances in the *Rig-Veda*, of the mention of 33 in connection with charm-practices, are: *RV.* i, 45, 2; iii, 6, 9; viii, 28, 1; xxx, 2; xxxv, 3; xxxix, 9.

6. — The line recurs twice: 13 and 20. In lines 6 and 20 the MS. reading is *þa lāþan*. C. takes *jarþ* as plural; but this word and *jereþ* (line 20) are plainly singular. One might accept W.'s explanation that *þa lāþan* is accusative singular feminine, but line 13 has *þam*. More plausible is Hoops' (56) suggestion that the *m* in lines 6 and 20 was omitted from *þam lāþan*, which might be masculine or neuter. Cf. also *þam lāþan*, A 14, line 37.

8. — *Eastan openo*. Cf. line 62.

9. — *Curran*. Preterite of *ceorran*.

10. — *Bryodedon* < *breodion*.

14. — *Stīme* or *stāne*. The MS. is not clear.

21. — The passage about the betony is quite unintelligible.
 25. — *Feorh*. The life of any sufferer for whose benefit the herbs are culled.
 27. — *Wergulu*. As stated above, the word is probably synonymous with *nete*: the dictionary meaning, "crab-apple," derived from Cockayne, is therefore wrong. Bradley believes Toller to be right in regarding *wergulu* as the feminine of an adjective which appears in the derivative *wergolnys* ("maledictio"). This etymology gives some basis to the meaning "nettle."
 30. — *Ongan*. Bradley suggests that *onge* or *onga* is equivalent to ON. *anga* ("sprout; shoot").
 31. — Cf. the Woden episode (lines 31-33) with —
 b. a. b. "To fight the serpent, Odin's son goes forth,
 And in his wrath Midgard's protector slays."
Voluspá, 55 and 56.

Reptiles were frequently credited with producing poisons. According to *Sal. and Sat.* 421 ff., all poisons originally sprang from the bodies of twenty-five serpents whom the bold seafarer, *weallende Wulf*, slew at the cost of his own life.

34. — *Nædran ættor*. The MS. and the Edd. readings are very unsatisfactory. H. and Bradley both translate, "Apple and poison brought about that she [the adder] nevermore would enter house." This makes no sense, while the substitution of *nædran* for *ættor* gives a reading in accordance with the context. Lines 31-35 comprise the "apple" passage; lines 31-33 form the epic introduction about Woden, and the serpent which has slain a man; next would come line 34, "There the apple put an end to the serpent's poison."

35. — *þæt hēo*, etc. W. assumes a gap between lines 34 and 35, because "*hēo* can refer neither to *æppel* nor to *ættor*." *Hēo* of course refers to *nædran* (line 33) in the MS. reading.

37. — For lines 37-40, see p. 154.

38. — *Hongode* (= *hongode on rōde*). Cf. *þā þā Crist, hangode on rōde* (Ælfric, *Homilies*, ii, 240, 22).

41. — *Hēo* cannot refer to *fi*lle and *fin*ule. Lines 41-44 may belong to the *wergulu* or to the *æppel* passage.

43. — W. reads, *wið þēondes hond and wið þæs jagan hond* in one line, and *wið jrea begde* in the second half of the next line. Here *jagan* is inserted by W., who also assumes the first half of the second line to be missing. Bradley suggested the omission of the second *wið þæs hond*, and the change of the obscure *jrea begde* into *jær-bregde*, a compound formed in analogy with *jær-searo*, etc.

44. — *Minra*. C., *minra* = "my;" H., *minra* = "little;" Bradley, *mānra* = "wicked." B.'s emendation is scarcely necessary, since *min* (= "vile") will fit the context.

45. — *Wuldorgeflogenum* = "spirits fled from glory;" that is, evil spirits or disease-demons.

47. — *Runlan*. One would expect the name of a color. Cook and Tinker translate "gray," but the reason is not apparent.

48. — *Wedenan æt*re appears again to complete line 51.

52. — *Wyrmeblæd* = "illness caused by worms." *Watergeblæd* = "water-pustule."

53. — *Þornegeblæd* = "prickly sore." The *Þysgeblæd* of the MS. probably arose from confusing *Þysgeblæd* with the following *ysgeblæd*.

55. — W. and H. both attribute to accident the omission of "south" from the enumeration; but it is to be noted that the six "blisters," plus the three infections from east, north, and west, make nine, corresponding to the nine *onflygnum* of line 45. The six "blisters," too, must have been regarded as of contagious origin, if *onflygnum* is correctly translated "infectious disease."

57. — *Crist*, etc. See p. 154.

58. — *Ic āna*, etc. (lines 58–61). See charac. 5, p. 117. Supply "of it" (that is, "of the running water") after *behoaldað*. H. supplies "of me," which is also possible.

65. — *Gor*—"dirt, filth;" but the context requires "juice."

68. — *Hē*, etc. A ceremonial direction to the exorcist (see charac. 6, p. 117).

B 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 125 a.

Editions. — G. ii, 1193; C. ii, 350; L. 107.

Translations. — C. ii, 351; Brooke, 138.

Analysis. — See analysis of B Charms, p. 128. — There are two alliterative formulas: (1) lines 8–13, (2) lines 14–15. Both formulas are characterized by alliterative pairs: *ne burnon, ne burston*; *ne fundian ne jeologan*; etc. (cf. Ebermann, 53; A 15 and A 16).

5. — *Felterre* = *fel terra* = *eorð-gealla*. Cf. C. iii, 72: "*felterran sæd, þat is, eorðgeallan*."

6. — *Dō*, etc. See Christian tags to Heathen spells (p. 154).

8. — The passage, lines 8–13, exemplifies charac. 5 (see p. 117). — *Āwrað* (from *āwriðan*) = "to wreath around." Healing amulets are wreathed around the wounds. Perhaps the sores are merely circumscribed with lines, a common method of expelling disease-fiends (see p. 121). — *Beadowræda* = "fighting wreaths;" hence "amulets."

12. — *Hālewðge* (= OHG. *heilawdc*, *heilwæge*) = "water drawn from a running stream in a holy season, before sunrise, in solemn silence." See Grimm, ii, 485 ff., and cf. charac. 10, pp. 120, 121.

13. — *Ne ace þē*, etc. The line is obscure. The sea, like running water, was regarded as a purifying agent. The meaning may then be, "If the sufferer keep the sacred spring-water, he will be as safe from disease-demons as is the land in the sea." For the simile, see p. 120.

14. — *Eorþe þē*, etc. An invocation to the earth spirit to crush the water-elf (see charac. 2, p. 112, and cf. A 4, line 4).

B 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 186 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 68; L. 149.

Translation. — C. iii, 69.

Analysis. — See analysis of Group B, p. 128. — The two formulas, lines 1–8 and lines 11–13, are really jingle charms (see Group A, II (a), p. 124). The first jingle lines (1–8) is almost identical with the formula in A 8. By comparing line 7 in B 6 with line 9 in A 8, we shall get some idea of the process by which intelligible Anglo-Saxon was, through transcription or transmission, turned into gibberish. Of the phrase *æt þām drome*, etc., in A 8, nothing remains in B 6 but the two words *drome whic*, with meaningless context; *dulgedoþ*

(A 8, line 9) is obviously a compound, one of whose elements is the *dolge* (*dolg*—"wound") which we find in B 6, line 7.

8. — *Alleluiah*. Cf. B 5, note to line 6.

B 7

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 112; L. 35.

Translations. — C. ii, 113; *Eng. Med.* 123.

Analysis. — See analysis of B charms, p. 128. — The formula, lines 5-9, is plainly a rhythmical one of the jingle type (Group A, II (a), p. 124). Line 8 is found slightly varied in BB 4. Cf. also A 17.

1. — *Ætærnum swile*—"the bubonic plague," according to *Eng. Med.* 123.

2. — *Ænes blæos*. The color of an animal was an important consideration in Teutonic superstitious rites. Animals solely of one color were in great demand, and white and red were the favorite colors (see Grimm, i, 44). In two other AS. charms, BB 4 and E 1, the ceremonial calls for a cow of one color. A similar direction is found in other AS. remedies (see, for example, *Rezept e*, in A. Napier, "Altenglische Miscellen" [*Archiv*, lxxiv, 326]). See also p. 122.

3. — *Lëtania*. See interpolation of Christian formulas (pp. 140 ff.).

C 1

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 28 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 76; L. 24.

Translations. — C. ii, 77; *Eng. Med.* 134.

Analysis. — See analysis of C charms, p. 129. Laws 10 and 11, p. 141, are against transference of disease. — A very similar charm is CC 2 (see translation on p. 131).

Blæce. *Eng. Med.* (134, note 1) has, "*Blæce* was some kind of skin disease. It is rendered in one glossary *vitiigo*, but it is also regarded as equivalent to *lepra* in the old sense, that is, the modern *psoriasis*."

6. — For the superstitions connected with silence, running water, and spitting, see charac. 10, pp. 120 ff.

C 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 115 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 318; L. 97.

Translation. — C. ii, 319.

Analysis. — See analysis of Group C, p. 131, and also p. 129.

1. — *þa*, etc. See charac. 6, p. 117. — *Tordwifel* (= modern English *weevil*). Grimm (ii, 576) finds traces of a beetle-worship among the Teutons. Among the Scandinavians it was believed that the man who found a dung-beetle helpless on its back, atoned for seven sins if he set it on its feet.

C 3

MS. — Harley 585, p. 174 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 52; L. 144.

Translations. — C. iii, 53; *Eng. Med.* 135.

Analysis. — See Group C, p. 131.

2. — *III*. = *Þriwa*. Cf. A 13, lines 40, 43, and 82; also A 23, line 5. C. and L. supply *siðum* and *dagum*, respectively, after *III*.

4. — For the formula, lines 3-8, see pp. 151 ff.; and p. 152, note 1.

C 4

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 53 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 142; L. 43.

Translation. — C. ii, 143.

Analysis. — See Group C, p. 131; and see charac. 6, p. 117. A counterpart of this charm is CC 2, translated on p. 131.

1. — *Hunta*. Spiders were akin to dwarfs, hence the scarification around the wound to exclude demoniac influence (see Stallybrass, 1497).

5. — *Ymbutan*. See charac. 10, p. 121.

6. — *Swigende*. See p. 121.

C 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 111 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 306; L. 94.

Translation. — C. ii, 307.

Analysis. — See Group C, p. 131. — The remedy involves the transference of the disease from the patient's eyes to the eyes of the crab. To make the transference effective, it was believed necessary to let the mutilated animal go alive. — Animals' eyes were frequently used to cure eye-diseases. In CC 1, a wolf's eye is prescribed as an amulet; similarly, in Cockayne, i, 370, 10, a dog's eye. So the powdered teeth of a dog are mixed in a drink for toothache (see Cockayne, i, 370. 11). This association of ideas between a remedial object and the seat or nature of the disease was known throughout the middle ages as the "doctrine of signatures," and resulted in the prescription, for example, of *euphrasy* (= "eyebright," there is the likeness of an eye in the flower) for diseases of the eye, and of "Jew's-ear" (a plant slightly resembling a human ear) for diseases of the ear. See also K. Weinhold, *Ein Hochdeutscher Augensegen in einer Hs. des 12ten Jahrhunderts*, in *ZjVh*. xi, 79-82 and 226.

D 1

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 52 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 42.

Translation. — C. ii, 141.

Analysis. — An analysis of the D charms is found on p. 135.

1. — *Ride*. Literally, "if an incubus ride a man." The Low-German peasant says of the demon, *He het mi reden* ("he has ridden me"); the High-German says, *dich hât geriten der mar* ("the incubus has ridden you") (see Meyer, 132). The nightmare-fiend was believed literally to "ride" human beings and animals until they were exhausted, and even until they were dead (see Meyer, 128 ff.). The OHG. spell *contra rehin* is for an equine sickness caused by incubi (see *Denkm.* ii, 302). Sometimes witches in the form of succubæ were thought to "ride" men (see early Scandinavian laws against such practices, Hermann 73 and 567). So C. translates D 1: "If a mare or hag ride a man."

2. — *Ræcels*. Incense was of Christian origin (see Grimm, i, 47; and cf. the introducing of Christian ritual, pp. 148 ff.).

D 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 39 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 104; L. 32.

Translations. — C. ii, 105; *Eng. Med.* 132.

Analysis. — Perhaps the remedy includes a belief in the transference of the disease to the tusk (see Group C, pp. 129 ff.).

1. — *Cucum.* See note to C 5.

D 3

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 122 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 342; L. 104.

Translation. — C. ii, 343.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135. — Other charms for the same trouble are D 4 and A 24.

1. — *Wyr.* For the magic properties of herbs, see pp. 132 ff.

3. — *Dēofol.* On the Devil in charm remedies, see Group E, pp. 136 ff. — *Inne ne üle.* Cf. *sō dēah gehwæber ge þas mannes sǣwle ge his lichoman*, in DD 15.

D 4

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 111 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 306; L. 94.

Translation. — C. ii, 307.

Analysis. — See analysis of D charms, p. 135. — Stones from the stomach of young swallows are recommended as amulets in a Latin charm which Pliny (xi, 79) says is derived from the Magi. In *Evangeline*, lines 136-139, "the wondrous stone" found in swallows' nests is mentioned. — Another headache charm (EE 18) is based on a sympathetic cure: the ashes of a dog's burnt head are made into a salve. See the amulet cure (herbs tied with red thread) for headache, in Cockayne, ii, 307.

5. — *Nihigengan.* These were the dreaded night-demons or incubi (cf. DD 15 and EE 8).

6. — *Wyr-forbore.* See "knots," Group E, p. 138; and cf. E 10, BB 13, and law No. 26, p. 142. — *Yflum gealdorcraftum*; such as, for example, that mentioned in *Hǫvamfl.*, 150.

D 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 108 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 296; L. 90.

Translation. — C. ii, 297.

Analysis. — For analysis of Group D, see p. 135. — For superstitious uses of stones, see Group D, p. 134. Jet is prescribed in a drink against an elf (see E 14); and Beda (Book I, 1) says, "Jet which is black and sparkling, and when heated, drives away serpents" (cf. the eighth virtue in D 5).

10. — *Sīðn on wātan*, as in E 14, line 2.

D 6

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 20 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 54; L. 17.

Translation. — C. ii, 55.

Analysis. — The formula, lines 3-6, is gibberish (see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.), and is really a jingle spell (cf. Group A, II (a), p. 124). As we have seen, the symbols composing the jingles were often carelessly transposed (cf. note to B 6). The following conjectural rearrangement of lines 3-6 will serve to show the likeness between the formula and the jingle charms: —

"Ægryn thou struth
argrenn fola struth
tarton tria canplath
bathu hæd morfana
on ara caru
leou groth weorn
fil croadl weorn
mro cron ærcio
æer leno ermio."

The same formula is found in AA 17, another charm for stanching blood.

D 7

MS. — Cotton Caligula A xv, p. 136 b.

Edition. — C. iii, 290.

Translation. — C. iii, 291.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135. — For the formula, lines 4-11, see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.; and gibberish spells, Group A, II (b), p. 127.

D 8

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 52 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 138; L. 42.

Translations. — C. ii, 139; *Eng. Med.* 109.

Even among the ancient Germans, women played an important part in exorcism and sorcery (see Gum. 389 ff.; Meyer, 306 and 309; *Grögalds*, 6 ff.); and A 2, line 17, plainly indicates a sorceress. EE 25 is also "against a sorceress." See, moreover, laws 2, 4, 11, 17, and 21 (pp. 140 ff.).

3. — For the formula, see charac. 3, p. 112; also p. 124, note 6. The last symbol probably stands in part for Veronica, and is intended to invoke the miraculous portrait of Christ on that saint's handkerchief (see type 10, p. 158).

D 9

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 53 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 43.

Translation. — C. ii, 141.

Analysis. — See analysis of D charms, p. 135. — Cf. the charm with A 18 and with EE 31, both for the same illness.

1. — The formula is the same as that in A 18, line 15 (see note to that line).

2. — *Swigende*. See p. 121.

3. — *Winstran*. See charac. 7, p. 118.

5. — *BPONICs*. Cf. note to D 8, line 4. — *HAMMANy^oEL*. See charac. 3 (b), p. 114.

D 10

MS. — Harley 585, p. 183 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 66; L. 149.

Translation. — C. iii, 67.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135.

1. — *Pistol*. For *celestial letters*, see p. 153, note 6; also AA 13.

2. — *Böcjelle*. See p. 135.

5. — For the formula, lines 5-11, see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.

7. — *Beronics*. Cf. note to line 5 in D 9.

10. — *Miserere*, etc. See charms with Christian appendages, first group, p. 154.

D 11

MS. — Cotton Vitellius E xviii, p. 13 b.

Edition. — C. i, 395.

Translation. — C. i, 395.

Analysis. — For the significance of the circle, see charac. 3 (g), p. 115. — See, further, the discussion on geometrical figures; see also charac. 3 (g), p. 115, and cf. p. 135.

1. — *Columcille*. Cf. "carried to Colme-kill" (*Macbeth*, II, iv, 33). *Cil* or *Kil* is a cell. *Columcill* or *Colme-kil* is the cell or Chapel of St. Columba on the Island of Iona. The island was inhabited by Druids prior to A. D. 563, when Colum M'Felim M'Fergus, afterwards called St. Columba, landed and preached Christianity. See Furness (Variorum ed.), note to the line in *Macbeth*, cited above.

D 12

MS. — Cotton Vitellius E xviii, p. 13 b.

Edition. — C. i, 396.

Translation. — C. i, 396.

For a discussion of the geometrical diagram, see p. 135, and charac. 3 (g), p. 115.

E 1

MS. — Harley 585, p. 185 a.

Editions. — K. i, 528; C. iii, 66; W. i, 326.

Translations. — K. i, 529; C. iii, 67.

Analysis. — The charm consists of a series of five superstitious rituals, any or all of which are to be observed by a woman who wishes to remedy delayed parturition. Each of the superstitious directions includes the recital of certain incantatory phrases (lines 4-6, 9-11, 15, 19-20, and 26-28). The fourth ceremonial (lines 12-15) is the only Christian one, and looks like a later interpolation. — For directions to patients, see charac. 6, p. 117; and for analysis of E charms, pp. 138 ff. — Charms for producing confinement are mentioned in *Sigrdrifumöl*, 9. Other Old English charms for producing speedy childbirth are AA 9, DD 9 (see "herbs," p. 132), DD 14 (see narrative charms, p. 157), and DD 18 (see p. 132).

2. — *Birgenne*. For the influence of the dead in charm practices, see charac. 10, p. 123; cf. also the remedy in EE 17.

17. — *Cildes gebyrgene*. The fourth ceremonial (lines 16-20) contains the same magic rite as the first (lines 1-6), only here we have the additional idea of transferring the activities of the disease-demon.

17. — *Wrȳ < wrōh*. The form was probably *wrih*, and was altered by the scribe.

21. — *Ānes blȳs*. See note to B 7, line 2.

23. — For "running water," see charac. 10, p. 121; and for spitting as a charm practice, see p. 122.

26. — *Gehuēr* (ð instead of æ). See Sievers, 321, *Anm.* 2. — Lines 30-32 are obscure.

E 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 106 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 290; L. 88.

Translation. — C. ii, 291.

Analysis. — The cure is to be effected by expelling the elf and his shots with violent measures (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.; and analysis of E charms, p. 138). — Cf. AA 7, DD 10, DD 12, and EE 27, for the same ailment. The remedy in EE 27 is practically the same as in this charm.

2. — *Fealo*. Cf. p. 122.

6. — *Swigende*. Cf. p. 121.

E 3

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 120 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 334; L. 102.

Translations. — C. ii, 335; *Eng. Med.* 137.

Analysis. — For analysis, see pp. 138 ff. For expulsion of demons in lunacy, see charac. 4, p. 115. — Other charm remedies in which fiends are exorcised by violence are EE 13, EE 22, and EE 26.

2. — *Swing mid*. Cf. the *Lebensrute* (Mannhardt, 272), a blow from which shields domestic animals from fatal sicknesses for a year.

E 4

MS. — Harley 585, p. 178 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 56; L. 145.

Translation. — C. iii, 57.

The demons of pestilence are driven away with smoke (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

4. — *Ræcels*. Added to sanctify the process (see p. 154).

E 5

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C. iii (=V in textual notes), p. 27 b; Bodley Hatton 76 (=B); Harley 585 (=H).

Edition. — C. i, 114.

Translation. — C. i, 115.

Analysis. — Cf. note to E 4; and see analysis of E charms, p. 138. Like E 4 and E 5 are EE 4, EE 7, EE 9, EE 13, and EE 14.

E 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 164 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 38; L. 138.

Translation. — C. iii, 39.

See p. 138. For the use of mystic letters, see charac. 3 (f), p. 115, and cf. Wuttke, ¶ 243. Concerning the nature of the disease for which this remedy is intended, see notes to charm A 2.

3. — *Macutus, Victorici*. St. Machutus and St. Victoricus were Irish saints of the sixth century.

E 7

MS. — Oxford St. John's 17.

Edition. — C. i, 394.

Translation. — C. i, 394.

For the written formula, see charac. 3 (d), p. 114. Cf. EE 5, where crosses on tongue, head, and breast are prescribed. Cf. also with D 6.

E 8

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 123 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 344; L. 105.

Translation. — C. ii, 345.

Analysis. — See analysis of E charms, pp. 138 ff. — Magic salves as agents of expulsion are recommended in charms EE 8, EE 16, EE 17, EE 18, EE 19, EE 20, EE 28, and EE 29.

1. — *þam mannum*, etc. Refers to the incubus myth (cf. D 1, note to line 1).

7. — The throwing of the herbs into running water doubtless symbolized the desired carrying-away of the disease or of the disease-demon expelled by the magic salve.

10. — *Ræclsa and sēna*. A sanctifying formula (see pp. 151 ff.).

E 9

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 114; L. 35.

Translations. — C. ii, 115; *Eng. Med.* 123.

2. — *Faul*. See charac. 3 (d), p. 114. Pliny (xxviii, 5) has a charm for driving away scorpions, in which one word, *duo*, constitutes the formula.

3. — *Neorxnawonge*. Cf. "sanctification by contact" (pp. 152 ff.).

E 10

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 114; L. 35.

Translation. — C. ii, 115.

For charm practices connected with sexual constriction, see p. 138. The same malady is mentioned in D 4 and in BB 13.

2. — *Håligwater*. An appended sanctifying word (see p. 154).

E 11

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C iii, (= V in textual notes), p. 46 a; Bodley Hatton 76 (= B); Harley 6258 b (= O).

Edition. — C. i, 364.

Translations. — C. i, 365; Brooke, 138.

For exorcism of demons with nauseating foods, see charac. 4, p. 115; and p. 139. — Cf. A 2 and E 6, both "against a dwarf."

1. — *þost*. The same excrement, worked into a drink, will cure a "specter-haunted" man (see Cockayne, i, 365, 14).

E 12

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 122 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 342; L. 104.

Translations. — C. ii, 343; *Eng. Med.* 137.

Wifgemædla is translated in the dictionaries as "woman's talk;" but it is plain that something like "bewitchment" or "spell" is meant (see laws 2 and 17, pp. 140 ff.). — Eating swallow-nestlings produces miraculous results in EE 24.

E 13

MS. — Harley 585, p. 189 a.

Editions. — K. i, 530; C. iii, 74; L. 152.

Translations. — C. iii, 75; *Eng. Med.* 118.

Analysis. — See analysis of E charms, p. 138. — The cure is to be effected by running water (see charac. 10, p. 131).

5. — *Crēdan*, etc. Cf. "substitution of church formulas" (pp. 147 ff.).

E 14

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 107 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 296; L. 89.

Translation. — C. ii, 297.

For elves and their influence, see Group E, p. 137.

1. — *Uncūbum sidan*. Cf. *ŷfum gealdorcraŷtum* (D 4, line 6). Evidently bewitchment by mischief-working sorcerers is meant (see p. 138). Ten other remedies in which a thaumaturgic drink is prescribed are EE 1, EE 2, EE 6, EE 10, EE 11, EE 12, EE 15, EE 21, EE 25, and EE 29. In contrast to E 14, these charms are all distinctly Christian in form, and most of the potions have holy water as an ingredient.

2. — *Rēcelses*. See note to E 8, line 15. — *Gāgates*. Cf. D 5.

BALLADS AND SONGS OF WESTERN NORTH
CAROLINA

BY LOUISE RAND BASCOM

THE process of collecting the songs common to the mountain section of western North Carolina is a difficult one, for the mountaineers suspiciously evade direct questions, and vanish entirely if too closely pressed. Hence the collector must necessarily be content with the scraps which he overhears in passing a cabin, unless he is so fortunate as to be acquainted with the different clans, or so lucky as to be able to attend one of those interesting celebrations known as Fiddlers' Conventions.

The convention is essentially an affair of the people, and is usually held in a stuffy little schoolhouse, lighted by one or two evil-smelling lamps, and provided with a rude, temporary stage. On this the fifteen fiddlers and "follerers of banjo pickin'" sit, their coats and hats hung conveniently on pegs above their heads, their faces inscrutable. To all appearances they do not care to whom the prize is awarded, for the winner will undoubtedly treat. Also, they are not bothered by the note-taking of zealous judges, as these gentlemen are not appointed until after each contestant has finished his allotted "three pieces."

To one unused to the mountain tunes, the business of selecting the best player would be not unlike telling which snail had eaten the rhododendron leaf, for execution and technique differ little with the individual performers, and the tune, no matter what it may be called, always sounds the same. It is composed of practically two bars which are repeated over and over and over again until the fiddler or banjo picker, as the case may be, stops abruptly from sheer fatigue. The first effect is like one of the strange tom-tidi-tom noises heard on a midway, but after a few unprejudiced moments of attention, melody, stirring, full of pathos, rich with suggestion, emerges from the monotonous din. Strangely enough, no matter how sad the words and music may be, they are always rendered as rapidly as is compatible with the skill of the musician, and without inflection. The tunes are played at all of the dances, whistled and sung by the men and boys everywhere. The mountaineer who cannot draw music from the violin, the banjo, or the "French harp," is probably non-existent, and not infrequently one may see a gaunt idler squatting by the roadside, picking the banjo, and at the same time working the "French harp," held in place by a wire around the player's neck. The fiddle is always a battered heirloom; the banjo is home-made, and very cleverly fashioned, too, with its drum-head of cat's hide, its wooden parts of hickory (there are no frets). The "French harp" is such

as can be purchased at the nearest general merchandise store for five, ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, according to the affluence of the buyer. Mention must also be made of "the fellers that han'l the bones." These instruments are long, slightly curved sticks of locust-wood, and they excel any castanets which can be bought. The ability to manipulate them is undoubtedly an art practised only by a few, who are looked upon as rarely accomplished. The women are also endowed with musical talent; but they regard it as the men's prerogative, and rarely touch an instrument when their husbands or sons are present. The author has known a certain woman for a dozen years or more, and never dreamed that she could handle a bow till, upon one occasion, when much was said in admiration of her son's skill, she mentioned casually that she had n't "knowed the time" when she could n't fiddle.

The tunes are very old. One fiddler, aged ninety-four, states that he is playing his great-grandfather's "pieces." They undoubtedly originated in the mountains, but it is difficult to come to any decision in regard to the words, though it is probable that they also have their origin there. Certainly "On the Banks of the Wabash," "Just One Girl," and other so-called popular airs, never reach the mountains, though upon occasion the old tunes will reappear embellished with some ornate title bequeathed by a passing stranger. As few members of even the new generation can read, it is obvious that the memory is made to retain the sound of the spoken words. Thus, in true ballad style, each man renders the same song somewhat differently, and often the same man cannot repeat the same song twice in the same way. The mountaineers object to having it thought that the songs are in any way connected with oral tradition. One woman, for example, made this remark: "You kin git 'em all in a book we've got that's got 'Nellie Grey,' 'Mollie Darling,' an' all them old songs in hit;" but the book was not forthcoming upon request, and as the woman who ventured this remark belongs to the lowest class of mountaineers and cannot read, it is probable that she has never possessed such a book. Other illiterate mountaineers delight in talking of the "reference books in their trunks." They certainly own no trunks, and probably the daily papers pasted on the walls to keep out the cold are the nearest things they own to "reference books," and these, of course, have been given them. Still, an allusion to "Mollie Darling" and "Nellie Grey," known quantities, as it were, is not to be despised. However, the tunes bearing these names have no resemblance to the original ones; and it is not likely that the words correspond either, though the author has never been so fortunate as to have heard them, if, indeed, they are sung. Very few mountaineers, familiar with many tunes, know the words to more than one ballad, and then they always state that they do not know it all. This further complicates the work of collecting, for a score of those persons who happen to be approached may not know the

words of the song desired. It seems difficult for them to remember the words, although they hear them sung repeatedly. When the ballads are sung, they are rendered in an indescribably high, piercing, nasal head tone, which carries remarkably well, and which gathers unto itself a weirdness that compels the blood to jump in the veins.

Some of the songs are coarse, considered entertaining, no doubt; but they are chiefly romantic or heroic in character, and, like the lovers' laments, here quoted in the vernacular, have as many versions as there are singers.

KITTY KLINE

A

1. Take me home, take me home, take me home,
Take me home, take me home, take me home,
When the moon shines bright, and the stars give light,
Take me home, take me home, take me home.
2. "Oh, who will shoe your little feet,
Oh, who will glove your little hand,
Oh, who will kiss your sweet rosy cheek,
When I'm gone to that far-distant land?"
3. "Oh, Popper'll shoe my little feet,
And Mommer'll glove my little hand,
And you shall kiss my sweet, rosy cheek,
When you come from that far-distant land.¹
4. "Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself,
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself,
I'll weep like a willer, an' I'll mourn like a dove,
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself.
5. "If I was a little fish
I would swim to the bottom of the sea,
And thar I'd sing my sad little song,
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself.

"Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself, etc.
6. "If I was a sparrer bird,
I would fly to the top of a tree,
And thar I'd sing my sad little song,
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself.

"Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself, etc.

¹ This stanza and the preceding will be recognized as belonging to "The Lass of Roch Royal" (Child, No. 76).

7. "Yonder sets a turtle-dove,
A-hoppin' from vine to vine,
He's a mournin' fur his own true love,
An' why not me fur mine?"
8. "I'm a goin' ter the top of that nigh pine,
I'm a goin' ter the top of that nigh pine,
An' ef I fall 'thout breakin' my neck,
You'll know who I love the best."

KITTY KLINE

B

1. Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,
When the stars shine bright, and the moon gives light,
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline.
2. Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,
With my head upon your breast like a birdie in its nest,
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline.
3. I'm as free a little bird as I can be,
I'm as free a little bird as I can be,
I'll build my nest on sweet Kitty's breast,
Whar the bad boys can't tear it down.

Take me home to my Mommer, etc.

The ballad then proceeds as Version A until after the stanza about the "sparrer" bird, when these stanzas are added:—

If I was a honey-bee,
I'd dip the honey from the flowers,
An' I'd fly an' sing my sad little song,
I can't stay hyar by myself.

So fare ye well, Kitty Kline,
So fare ye well, Kitty Kline,
You shall wear my gold-diamond ring,
When I'm in a far-distant land.

This fascinating ballad is at least fifty years old, and how much farther it dates back is not easy to conjecture, unless some one is able to find it in an old song-book, as the mountain woman suggested. It contains the regular ballad refrain, the question and answer stanzas typical of ballads of this kind, and at the same time employs such objects of every-day life as sparrer-birds, turtle-doves, honey-bees, shoes, trees,

and fish. This is the ballad which is most universally known. It might be called the national song of the highlanders.

One of the most plaintive of mountain songs is a ballad which is said to have been written July 5, 1907, but which, upon inquiry in other neighborhoods, is found to be ten years old at least. It is called "Bonnie Blue Eyes," and it illustrates the use of an object only recently made known to the common intelligence. In the old ballads we find stanza after stanza introducing the pen-knife or pin or other implements sufficiently new to the ballad-maker to be interesting. In this ballad the novelty is a train, something which few of the mountaineers to the present day have seen. Also, the ballad-maker, who seems to have been an adventurous soul, threatens to journey to the West, a land in the eyes of the mountaineers similar to what America must have been in the eyes of the Spaniards. Curiously enough, the men who leave home at all do go to the very far West; but they always come back again, when they've seen the world, and resume their former method of living. "Bonnie Blue Eyes" is an admirable ballad for illustrating the inability of the musician to render the same "piece" twice in the same way. It is first given as it was sung for the author, then as it was "drawed off" for the author by the musician, a mountain girl of "considerable schoolin'."

BONNIE BLUE EYES

A

1. Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry.
2. I hyar the train comin', I do,
I hyar the train comin', I do,
I hyar the train comin' to carry me through,
I hyar the train comin', I do-o-o.
3. Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
Ef ye cry, little Bonnie, you'll spile your eye,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry-i-i.
4. I asked your Popper for you,
I asked your Mommer for you,
I asked your Popper an' Mommer for you,
They both said "No-o-o."
5. She tole me she loved me, she did,
She tole me she loved me, she did,
She tole me she loved me, she never did lie,
Good-by, little Bonnie, good-by-i-i.

6. I'm forty-one miles from home,
I'm forty-one miles from home,
I'm forty-one miles from home,
Good-by, little Bonnie Blue Eyes.

7. And now she's married an' gone,
An' now she's married an' gone.
I've waited around fur her too long,
An' now she's married an' gone.

BONNIE BLUE EYES

B

1. I'm goin' out West next fall,
I'm goin' out West next fall,
I'm going out West, whar times is the best,
I'm goin' out West next fall.
2. Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,
For if you cry, you'll spile your eye,
Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry.
3. When you tole me you loved me, you lied,
When you tole me you loved me, you lied,
When you tole me you loved me, you lied, my dear,
When you tole me you loved me, you lied.
4. I asked your Mommer fur you,
I asked your Popper fur you,
I asked your Popper an' Mommer both fur you,
They both said "No-oh-no."
5. I'm forty-one miles from home,
I'm forty-one miles from home,
I'm forty-one miles from home, Bonnie Blue Eyes,
I'm forty-one miles from home.
6. I hyar the train comin', I do,
I hyar the train comin', I do,
I hyar the train comin' to carry me through,
To see my little Bonnie Blue Eyes.
7. I'm goin' to see Bonnie Blue Eyes,
I'm goin to see Bonnie Blue Eyes,
The only little girl I ever loved
Was my little Bonnie Blue Eyes.
8. But now she's married an' gone,
But now she's married an' gone.

But now she's married.

I've waited too long to get my little Bonnie Blue Eyes.

The train also finds a place in the pathetic ballad called "The Midnight Dew" or "The Devil's Dream," though one cannot see how the latter title applies.

MIDNIGHT DEW

1. In the midnight dew, love,
I often think of you,
When I'm rambling in the midnight dew, love,
I often think of you.
2. You can hyar the whistle blow,
You can tell the train I'm on,
You can hyar the whistle blow,
A hundred miles from home.
3. I'm a fool about you,
An' you're the only darlin', too,
Lord, but I'm a fool
About you, hoo-hoo.
4. If the train runs right,
I'll go home tomorrer night,
You can hyar the whistle blow,
A hundred miles from home.
5. If the train runs a wreck,
I'm sure to break my neck,
I'll never see my honey
Any more, hoo-hoo.
6. My ole shoes is worn,
An' my ole close is torn,
An' I can't go to meetin'
This way, hoo-hoo.
7. Oh, lordy me,
For thar's trouble I do see,
Fur nobody cyars
Fur me, hoo-hoo.
8. Oh, it's oh lordy me,
An' it's oh lordy my,
An' I want to go to Heaven
When I die, hoo-hoo.
9. I'll pawn you my watch
An' my wagon an' my team,

An' if that don't pay my darlin's bill,
I'll pawn my gold-diamond ring, hoo-hoo.

10. You've caused me to weep
An' you've caused me to mourn,
An' you've caused me to leave
My home, hoo-hoo.

11. You've caused me to walk
That long lonesome road
Which has never been
Travelled afore, hoo-hoo.

Aside from all else, two points are of especial interest in "Midnight Dew." One is that considerable power of observation is shown in the lines, "You can hyar the whistle blow a hundred miles from home." Owing to the rarity of the air, those living in this part of the country, thirty, forty, fifty miles from a railroad, could set their watches by the engine's whistle, though they don't, because a Southern train is proverbially never on time. The use of the word "pawn" is also worthy of note. One would naturally say that such a word would stamp the ballad as foreign to the mountains; but this is not necessarily so, for the mountaineers are notoriously fond of new words, and make use of them on every occasion, which often is not the right one.

Frequently one finds two ballads which are very similar, though they are by no means different versions of the same ballad. This is exemplified in the two somewhat fragmentary ballads, "My Own True Love" and "Sweet Betsy" or "Charming Betsy."

MY OWN TRUE LOVE

1. My home's in the State of North Carolina,
My home's in the State of North Carolina,
My home's in the State of North Carolina, my true love,
An' I never expect to see you any more.
2. I'm goin' off to the State of North Carolina,
I'm goin' off to the State of North Carolina,
I'm goin' off to the State of North Carolina, my true love,
An' I never expect to see you any more.
3. Oh, whar's that finger ring I gave you,
Oh, whar's that finger ring I gave you,
Oh, whar's that finger ring I gave you, my true love,
For I never expect to see you any more.
4. Now wear it on your right hand, my true love,
Now wear it on your right hand my true love,
Now wear it on your right hand, my true love,
For I never expect to see you any more.

CHARMING BETSY

1. I'm comin' round the mountain, charmin' Betsy,
I'm comin' round the mountain, 'fore I leave,
An' if I never more see you,
Take this ring, an' think of me.
2. An' wear this ring I give to you,
An' wear it on your right han',
An' when I'm dead an' forgotten,
Don't give it to no other man.

The ring plays a prominent part in the two ballads just quoted, and is also mentioned in "Kitty Kline." Why the maiden is admonished to wear the love token on her right hand is a matter for conjecture, unless the fond lover is willing to leave her for another. As a matter of fact, the mountain women practically never wear rings.

The heroic ballads cluster for the most part around Jesse James, who seems to have been the Robin Hood of the section. Just how his exploits reached this locality is puzzling; but it is not improbable that some Missouri mountaineer, moving back to North Carolina, has brought the songs with him. The words are by no means beautiful, but they are always shouted with great gusto. One of the songs goes thus:—

JESSE JAMES

1. Yes, I went down to the depot
Not many days ago: they followed on behind,
And I fell upon my knees, and I offered up the keys
To Frank and his brother, Jesse James.
 2. Poor Jesse James, poor Jesse James,
He robbed that Danville train;
Yes, the dirty little coward, he shot Mr. Howard,
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.
 3. Frank says to Jesse, not many days ago,
"Let's rob that Danville train."
An' Jesse says to Frank, "We'll take it as we go,
For we may not be hyar any more."
- Poor Jesse James, etc.
4. Jesse was a man, an' he travelled over the land,
With his sword an' his pistol to his side.
Robert Ford watched his eye an' shot him on the sly,
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.

Poor Jesse James, etc.

5. Yes, Jesse had a wife, the darlin' of his life,
An' the children all was brave.
Robert Ford watched his eye an' shot him on the sly,
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.
6. It was on Friday night, the moon was shinin' bright,
An' Jesse was standin' 'fore his glass,
Robert Ford's pistol ball brought him tremblin' from the wall,
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.

Poor Jesse James, etc.

7. Well, the people of the West, when they heard of Jesse's death,
They wondered how he come to die.
Robert Ford watched his eye an' shot him on the sly,
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.

Having no records, the author is unable to give the day of Jesse's death, but in all probability Friday was selected by the ballad-maker because of the popular superstition that it is a day of ill-luck.

"John Hardy" is another personage who seems to have left his name to posterity. This ballad is more similar to the old English and Scottish Ballads than any which have been quoted. Here, too, the questions and answers hold a prominent place. The "disperated" in the first line is probably as near as the singer could get to "dissipated," though "desperate" may be the word intended.

JOHN HARDY

1. John Hardy was a mean an' disperated man,
He carried two guns ever' day,
He shot a man in New Orlean Town,
John Hardy never lied to his gun, poor boy.
2. He's been to the east and he's been to the west,
An' he's been this wide world round,
He's been to the river an' been baptized,
An' he's been on his hangin' grounds, poor boy.
3. John Hardy's father was standin' by,
Sayin', "Johnie, what have you done?"
He murdered a man in the same ole town,
You ought to see John Hardy gittin' away, poor boy.
4. John Hardy's mother come weepin' around
Cryin', "Johnie, what have you done?"
"It's all for the sake of her I love?"
An' they run John Hardy back in jail, poor boy.

Of the ruder ballads, "Lulu" is an example, though it is obviously not of mountain origin, from the very fact of the allusion to "ole missus." Still it is probable that many of the stanzas have been invented in the highlands.

LULU.

1. I went afishin' an' fished fur shad,
First I caught was my old ad.
Jerked him up an' he fell back,
The next one bit was a great big cat.
2. I'll give you a nickel
An' I'll give you a dime
To see little Lulu
Cut her shine.
3. My ole missus promised me that when she died
She'd set me free,
An' now she's dead an' gone to hell,
Hope the Devil'll chunk her well.
4. Shout, little Lulu,
Shout your best,
Fur your ole grandmaw's
Gone to rest.
5. The bull frog's up
In the bottom of the well
He swore by God
He'd gone to hell.
6. He jumped in the fire
An' scorched his hand;
If he ain't in a hot place
I'll be damned.
7. Love you fur a nickel,
Love you fur a dime;
Lulu, get your hair cut
Just like mine.

The last stanza is like the popular song which used to be sung everywhere:—

Johnnie get your hair cut,
Johnnie get your hair cut,
Johnnie get your hair cut,
Just like mine.

Johnnie, get your gun,
Your sword and your pistol, etc.

"Lulu" is probably the form in which it was brought to the mountains by some negro minstrel. Another song which has probably been transplanted from the lowlands goes as follows: —

1. I'm alone, I'm alone,
An' I feel I'm growin' old,
Oh, how lonely, oh, how lonely,
I'm living all alone.

2. I was taught by my mommer
Who sleepeth in the tomb.
I was led by my father,
An' wandered here alone.

I'm alone, etc.

3. You remember my children
That set upon my knee
An' how I kissed my little darlin'
On the day that I was free.

I'm alone, etc.

Another song of the coarser type is known as "Going Down to Town." It is similar in character to the "Arkansaw Traveller," and the fourth verse is always the invention of the singer. It runs on endlessly, and begins thus: —

I'm goin' down to town,
I'm goin' down to town,
I'm goin' down to town,
To chaw my terbacco down.

Git along down town,
Git along down town,
Git along down town,
To bile that cabbage down.

The ballads quoted, if ballads they can be called, are only a very few of those sung in the mountains. There are many typical ones which have not yet come into the hands of the author. Two of the most desirable of these are "Sourwood Mountain," which begins, —

I have a love in the Sourwood Mountains,
She's gone crippled an' blind.
She's broke the heart of many poor feller,
But she ain't broke this'n of mine.

and "Johnie Henry," which begins, —

Johnie Henry was a hard-workin' man,
He died with his hammer in his hand.

The latter is obviously not a ballad of the mountains, for no highlander was ever sufficiently hard-working to die with anything in his hand except possibly a plug of borrowed "terbac." However, the author's informant declares that it is very sad and tearful, "very sweet," and it may appear in print "when Tobe sees Tom, an' gits him to larn him what he ain't forgot of hit from Muck's pickin'."

HIGHLANDS, N. C.

FOLK-LORE FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES

BY TOM PEETE CROSS

WHILE spending a few months in southeastern Virginia during the summer of 1907, I collected some scraps of negro folk-lore, which I here give to the readers of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*.

An old negro woman in Smithfield (Isle of Wight County), Virginia, informed me that witches sometimes acquire their power by selling themselves to the Devil. His Satanic Majesty gives them a piece of money, and agrees to carry out their commands. Witches may be male or female, young or old. A male witch sometimes causes his neighbor to leave his bed, and then, entering the house, enjoys his wife. A friend of mine from North Carolina told me of a witch who once carried her daughter out on a nocturnal visit. The mother, before starting, imposed on the girl a strict prohibition (probably against mentioning the name of God: I have forgotten the exact nature of the command). On reaching the house which the mother intended to enter, she uttered the words, "Through the key-hole I go!" and they both passed through. While inside, the daughter violated the prohibition, and was unable to return by the way she had come in.

I was anxious to learn, during my sojourn in the South, whether the witch of to-day retains any of the physical characteristics of her sisters of three hundred years ago in England. The result of my inquiries was as follows: The breasts of a female witch are situated under her arms, and the skin about her neck resembles a collar. I learned that a male witch hates to look one in the face; but exactly what physical characteristics he has, differing from men in general, I was unable to discover.

Witches have the power of assuming the forms of various lower animals. I heard from an old negro woman in Norfolk, Virginia, of a shop-keeper who had a personal experience with a witch. His mother-in-law practised the black art. The family lived in rooms above the store, and one morning the proprietor found the old lady crouching down in the form of a buzzard in the corner of the shop. He kept the bird till it changed into its proper human shape.

The following story, which I heard in Smithfield, Virginia, from the old negro woman mentioned above, is of considerable interest as suggesting a well-known cycle of mediæval stories:—

A witch, who became enamored of a man on a neighboring estate, changed herself into a doe and appeared at the "hog-feeding place."¹

¹ In the country districts of southeastern Virginia, hogs are often kept in woods or fields at a considerable distance from the dwelling-house. In the days when deer were more plentiful, they sometimes ventured up to the edge of the woods to feed on the corn supplied for the hogs.

The man shot at the deer, but with no effect. On mentioning the occurrence, he was instructed to load his gun with a four-pence ha'penny cut into four parts. This he did, and succeeded in shooting off one of the animal's feet. In the foot he found a ring, which he recognized as belonging to the woman. Meeting her afterwards, he asked to see the hand on which she usually wore the ring. She at first evaded the request, but on being pressed, revealed the fact that one of her hands was missing.

Witches in Virginia can, of course, enter a house through any opening, large or small, that may offer itself. An old woman told me of a witch who, on being married, asked her husband to unstop certain auger-holes in the floor, doubtless wishing to use the apertures for exits.

The number of chinks in the cabin of the average Southern negro is legion, and it is hence almost impossible to prevent the visits of the plantation witch if she be ill-disposed. The following preventives are, however, useful:—

1. Hang a sifter on the door-knob over the key-hole. The witch, before entering, will have to pass through every mesh of the sifter, an operation requiring so much time, that before she finishes, the hour will arrive when the "extravagant and erring spirit" must hie to "his confine."
2. Place the handle of an old-fashioned broom (made of long straws bound together) across the doorway. (The efficacy here seems to be the necessity the hag is under of counting the straws before entering.)
3. Turn the key sidewise in the hole.
4. Turn your stockings inside out before retiring.

Riding at night is apparently one of the witch's most common performances. As nearly as I could make out, the operation is as follows: The hag turns the victim on his or her back. A bit (made by the witch) is then inserted in the mouth of the sleeper, and he or she is turned on all-fours and ridden like a horse. (Whether the victim is actually transformed into a horse, I was unable to discover.) Next morning the person ridden is tired out, and finds dirt between his fingers and toes. A flax-hackle, placed on the breast of the sleeper with the teeth up, will injure the witch when she mounts, and prevent her from riding. While in Smithfield, I heard of a man who, when he was about to be ridden by a witch, seized the bridle, and forced it into the hag's mouth. She began to shift her shape rapidly, but was severely beaten by her would-be victim.

It is well believed to-day in southeastern Virginia that witches take horses from the stables at night, and ride them furiously about the country. The best indications of a horse's having been ridden is finding the strands of its mane tied together next morning. Two hairs tangled

together constitute a witch-stirrup. The horse is usually tired and nervous after its experience.¹

The following account was clipped from the Richmond (Virginia) "Times-Despatch" while I was in the South in December, 1907:—

"With ashen face and trembling from garret to cellar, Alfred Cary, usually black, rushed into the Second Police Station last night crying, 'She's fixed me; she's fixed me. Come quick, fo' Gawd's sake.' He was breathless with running. 'Fo' Gawd's sake, come quick,' he panted. 'I'll take yer right whar she is.' — 'What's the matter?' queried one of the officers in the station. 'Been conjured?' — 'Yassir. Come on.' — 'Wait a moment, an' I'll take it off you.' But the negro had fled. The officer sprang to the door, but he got only a glimpse of Alfred turning the corner.

"There are many believers in 'conjurin'' still among the negroes in Richmond, and it was only a night or two ago that a negro girl ran breathless up to an officer, and said that she had been 'conjured.'

"'Some gal's got the combins' of my hyar, an' nailed 'em to a tree,' she wept. 'I dunno how she got 'em, but she got 'em, an' she's done nail 'em to a tree.' — 'Pshaw, girl; g'long with you. We white folks burn our combins's.' — 'Yo' white folks don' know 'bout sech things,' she cried; 'but we cullud folks knows all erbout 'em. Dat gal sho' is got my combins's, cos' I'se got de headache. When yo' nails a gal's combins's to a tree, wid de combins's twisted roun' de nail, it sho' gwine give yo' a headache, an' I'se got one orful bad. It 's been achin' eber since dat gal got my combins's.'"

Another curious instance of the terror inspired by conjurers among the Southern negroes occurred, I am told, in Alabama. One negro was accused of having "picked up the tracks" of another. He was in the act of carrying them away when a crowd gave chase, pursued him into a house on the plantation, and were apparently bent on tearing the building down in their effort to get at him, when the proprietor of the estate interfered.

It appears from the above that the public is very much at the mercy of witches and conjurers. I therefore venture to suggest two methods of retaliation which I heard of while in Virginia. A witch can be injured by shooting at an image or silhouette of board representing the one to be punished. (The story of the man and the witch who transformed herself into a doe suggests that the witch may be injured directly by using a silver bullet.) It is of course well known that witches shed their skins in preparation for their transformations. If the skin is then taken and rubbed with salt and pepper, it will do much toward making life

¹ I have heard that in ante-bellum days the plantation "hands" took the horses from the stables without the knowledge of the owner, and used them, thus giving abundant cause for the animals' unkempt and fatigued condition on the following day.

unpleasant for the weird sister when she first gets back into her case.

So far the items that I have chronicled are taken from the witch-lore of Southern negroes, though some of the beliefs are also current among ignorant whites. The following information, which I owe to the kindness of a gentleman from Pendleton, North Carolina, concerns a white woman who was reputed to be a witch.

"The early years of Phoebe Ward, witch, are shrouded in mystery. It is known that she was a woman of bad morals. No one seemed to know anything of her past. She was an old, old woman when this account begins.

"Phoebe Ward had no fixed home. She lived here and there, first at one place and then at another in Northampton County, North Carolina. She stayed in a hut or any shelter whatsoever that was granted her.

"She made her living by begging from place to place. Most people were afraid to refuse her, lest she should apply her witchcraft to them. When she found a house at which people were particularly kind to her, there she stopped and abused their kindness. Hence the people resorted to a number of methods to keep her away. For instance, when they saw her coming, they would stick pins point-up into the chair-bottoms, and then offer her one of these chairs. It is said that she could always tell when the chair was thus fixed, and would never sit in it. Also, they would throw red pepper into the fire, and Phoebe would leave as soon as she smelled it burning. . . .

"Among her arts it is said that she could ride persons at night (the same as nightmares), that she could ride horses at night, and that when the mane was tangled in the morning it was because the witch had made stirrups of the plaits. She was said to be able to go through key-holes, and to be able to make a horse jump across a river as if it were a ditch. She was credited with possessing a sort of grease which she could apply, and then slip out of her skin and go out on her night rambles, and on her return get back again. It is said that once she was making a little bull jump across the river, and as she said, 'Through thick, through thin; 'way over in the hagerleen,' the animal rose and started. When he was about half way over, she said, 'That was a damn'd good jump,' and down the bull came into the river. (The witch is not to speak while she is crossing.)

"To keep the witch away people nailed horse-shoes with the toe up over the stable-doors. To keep her from riding persons at night, they hung up sieves over the door. The witch would have to go through all the meshes before she could enter, and by the time she could get through, it would be day, and she would be caught.

"Phoebe came near meeting a tragic death before her allotted time was out. One night several men of the neighborhood gathered around a

brandy-barrel. As the liquor flowed, their spirits rose, and they were on the lookout for some fun. They went over to where Phoebe was staying and found her asleep. Thinking she was dead, they shrouded her, and proceeded to hold the wake. They were soon back at their demijohns, and while they were standing in one corner of the room drinking, there came a cracked, weak voice from the other corner, where the supposed corpse was lying out, 'Give me a little; it's mighty cold out here.' They all fled but one, — Uncle Bennie, — and he was too drunk to move. When things became quiet and Phoebe repeated her request, he said, 'Hush, you damn'd b—h, I'm goin' to bury you in the mornin'.' The others were afraid to return that night, but did so the next morning, and found Bennie and Phoebe sitting before the fire, contented, warm, and drinking brandy.

"After this Phoebe lived several years, making her livelihood by begging. Her last days were as mysterious as her early life had been."

I conclude with a clipping (quoted in the newspaper whence it was taken, from the "Nashville Tennessean") which is of interest in connection with the use of charms in the South.

"BLACK-CAT CURE FOR RHEUMATISM. — 'The hide of a black cat dried in an autumn sun and worn around the waist in the form of a belt will keep rheumatism away,' said Mark Duvall, of Alexander, La., at the Hotel Duncan. 'Now, don't laugh, and wait until after you've heard the story. For three years I had symptoms of rheumatism — very painful symptoms. I lay awake nights and suffered a thousand deaths — mentally and physically. One day an old negro working on an adjoining plantation told me of the black cat hide remedy. Of course, I did n't believe in it, but like a drowning man grabbing at a straw, thought I would give it a trial, as I knew the old-time Southern darky to be a real good doctor. I had a black cat killed in October and let the hide stay out for about fifteen days to dry. I then cut it up and made a belt about one inch wide out of it. I put on the belt and wore it for eight weeks. Believe me when I say that my rheumatic pains had entirely disappeared the third week. I have never had a pain since and I still have my black cat belt.'"

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

SONGS OF WESTERN COWBOYS

BY G. F. WILL

THE songs of the Western cowboys are many and varied, and form a distinctly interesting development of folk-lore. In view of the fact that these are being fast forgotten in the Dakotas, and as Montana ranching is dying out, the writer has been trying to make some sort of a collection of the words of these songs as heard in North Dakota, particularly. This has been a more difficult task than anticipated, as, although many know a few verses, there are very few who can give at all complete versions. The three cowboy songs given here were all obtained from Mr. Otis Tye of Yucca, N. Dak. The last song, which has been transplanted from the Wisconsin lumber camps of the seventies, Mr. Fred Roberts gave. This hardly belongs with the cowboy songs, but it seems permissible to insert it as it has become quite widely known in this region.

The range songs of the cowboys grew up in various ways. Some were songs heard in city music halls and transplanted; others were old country ballads retouched and changed to suit; and very many were composed, minstrel fashion, by some member of the circle as a group of cowboys lay around the camp-fire.

The songs were also sung on widely different occasions. Sometimes they were shouted in the saloons of the towns when engaged in a "celebration." Sometimes they were sung in the ranch-house at the stag-dances, again they were heard at the camp-fire out on the round-up. And perhaps one of their most frequent uses was in quieting the cattle at night as the cowboys rode round them on night-guard.

The first song to be presented is called "Amanda, the Captive." This song the cowboy who gave it said he had first heard sung on one of the large South Dakota ranches, by a Texas cowboy. And the Texan claimed to have learned it in old Mexico many years before from a still older Texan, who sung it to the cattle when on night-guard.

The song is not entire, large fragments having been forgotten. It is as follows:—

The sun had gone down o'er the hills in the west,
And the last beams had faded o'er the mossy hill's crest
And the beauties of nature and the charms of the fair.

At the foot of the mountain Amanda did ride,
At the hoot of the owl or the catamount's cry,
Or the howl of some wolf in its low granite cell,
Or the crash of some dead forest tree as it fell.

The camp-fire was kindled and fanned by the breeze,
And the red embers shone o'er the evergreen trees;
The watch-fire was blazing, each warrior was there,
And Amanda was doomed the torture to bear.

With an eye like an eagle and a step like a deer,
Young Albion the leader of those warriors appeared;
He cried, "My warriors, forbear, forbear!
The maiden shall live, by my wampum I swear,
And if there's a victim to be burned at the tree,
Young Albion your leader that victim shall be."

Early next morning at the break of the day,
A birch-bark canoe was seen gliding away,
Or like a wild duck that skims o'er the tide,
Young Albion and Amanda the captive did ride.

And great was her joy upon reaching the shore
To embrace her dear father and mother once more.

Young Albion stood by and saw them embrace
With a sigh in his heart and a tear on his face,
But all he would ask was shelter and food
From the friends of Amanda for the chief of the wood.

The second cowboy song collected is called "A Home on the Range." No information could be obtained as to its origin, but after questioning a number of older cowboys it seems that it is almost universally known in the northwest, though most of the men knew but a few verses.

1. Oh give me a home where the buffalo roam,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

Chorus.

A home, a home where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

2. Oh, often at night when summer was bright,
Alone 'neath the stars I would stray;
I stood there amazed and asked as I gazed,
If beauty could excel that of ours.

Chorus.

3. Oh, I love the wild flowers in this bright land of ours,
I love to hear the wild curlew scream
O'er the bluffs and high rocks where the antelope flocks
To graze on the mountain so green.

Chorus.

4. Oh, give me a land where bright diamond sand
Shows in the glittering stream
That glideth along like a graceful white swan,
Like a maid in a lovely day dream.

Chorus.

5. Oh, give me a gale with an orbital wail,
Where life in its streams busily flow
On the banks of the Platte River,
Where seldom if ever
The poisonous syringias grow;
Where the air is so pure, the breezes so free,
The zephyrs so balmy at night,
I would not exchange my home on the range
For another, be it ever so bright.

Chorus.

6. The prairie all checkered with buffalo paths,
Where once they roamed proudly too and fro;
But now they've grown dim
Where hunters have been,
And the cowboys have laid them so low.
The red-men pressed in these parts of the West,
And likely they ne'er will return,
For the farmers they start in search of those parts
Whenever the story they learn.

Chorus.

The third song is known as "The Dying Cowboy," and seems more ballad-like than the others. In fact, it suggests strongly a parody on some of the English ballads.

1. As I rode down to the theatre, the theatre,
As I rode to the theatre one day,
I met a young cowboy all dressed in white linen;
All dressed in white linen, all fixed for the grave.

Chorus.

Go play the fife lowly and beat the drum slowly,
And play the death march as they carry me on;
Take me to the prairie and lay the sod o'er me,
For I'm a young cowboy, I know I've done wrong.

2. When once in the saddle I used to go dashing,
When once in the saddle I used to be gay;
I first took to drinking and then to card playing,
Got shot through the lungs and am dying to-day.

Chorus.

3. Go write a letter to my gray-headed mother,
And break the news gently to sister dear;

But there is another more dear than a mother,
Who'd bitterly weep if she knew I were here.

Chorus.

4. Go gather around me a group of young cowboys,
And tell them the story the cowboy has said,
And tell them take warning before they go farther.
And stop the wild roaming before it's too late.

Chorus.

5. Go bring me a cup, a cup of cold water,
A cup of cold water the dying man said;
But ere they returned the spirit had got him, —
He'd gone to the giver, the cowboy was dead.

Chorus.

The following song came from Wisconsin with some of the first settlers in this region, and is more accurately a shanty than a cowboy song.

THE BIG EAU CLAIR

Every girl she has her troubles,
Likewise a man has his;
I'll relate, to you the agony
Of a fellow's story, viz. —
It relates about affections
Of a damsel young and fair,
And an interesting shanty boy
From off the big Eau Clair.

This young and dauntless maiden
Was of noble pedigree,
Her mother kept a milliner shop
In the town of Mosinee —
Kept waterfalls and ribbons
And imitation lace
For all the high-toned people
In that gay and festive place.

The shanty boy was handsome,
Had a curly head of hair,
Not a handsomer man could there be found
From off the big Eau Clair.

This milliner said her daughter
A shanty boy ne'er should wed,
But Sue, she did not seem to care
For what her mother said.
This milliner she packed up her goods
And went and hired a hack

And opened up another shop
Way down in Fondulac.

Now Sue got broken-hearted
And weary of her life,
For she dearly loved the shanty boy
And wished to be his wife.

And when brown autumn came along
And ripened all the crops,
She lighted out for Baraboo
And went a picking hops;
But in this occupation
She found but little joy,
For her thoughts kept still reviving
About her shanty boy.

She took the scarlet fever,
Lay sick a week or two
In Asa Baldwin's pest-house
In the town of Baraboo.
The doctors tried, but all in vain,
Her hopeless life to save,
Now millions of young hop-lice
Are dancing o'er her grave.

When this news reached the shanty boy,
He quickly to perceive
He hid his saw in a hollow log,
He traded off his axe,
And hired out as sucker
On a fleet of sailor jacks.
But in this occupation
No comfort could he find,
The milliner's daughter's funeral
Came frequent to his mind.

He fell off a rapids piece
At the falls of Mosinee,
Which ended all his fate for love
And all his misery.
And now the bold Wisconsin
Rolls her waves above his bones,
His companions are the catfish,
His grave a pile of stones.

This milliner she is bankrupt now,
Her shop has gone to rack,
She talks quite strong of moving
Away from Fondulac.

Songs of Western Cowboys

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For her pillow it is haunted
By her daughter's auburn hair
And the ghost of that young shanty boy
From off the Big Eau Clair.

BISMARCK, N. DAK.

NOTES AND QUERIES

FAIR CHARLOTTE. — The opening lines of this American traditional ballad are, —

"Fair Charlotte lived by the mountain-side,
In a wild and lonely spot,
No dwelling was for three miles round,
Beside her father's cot."

The ballad is about a young woman who was frozen to death while riding fifteen miles in a sleigh to "a merry ball," and is no doubt based on an actual incident. In connection with a study I am making of American ballads, I should be extremely grateful to any readers of this *Journal* who will send me any versions of the ballad (even fragments are desirable), whether from oral tradition, or copied from printed sources. Especially should I like information concerning the event itself. — *Phillips Barry*, 33 Ball St., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM JONES. — On March 28 Dr. William Jones, whose studies of the Central Algonquin tribes had won for him marked recognition, died of wounds received in an attack by hostile natives in the northern part of the island of Luzon. Dr. Jones made his first studies of the folk-lore of the Sauk and Fox under the auspices of the American Folk-Lore Society, and published some of the results of his studies in this *Journal* under the titles "The Culture-Hero Tradition of the Sauk and Fox" (vol. xiv, 1901, pp. 225-239) and "The Concept of the Manitou" (vol. xviii, 1905, pp. 183-190). His researches covered all the aspects of the primitive life of the Algonquin, but he was able to publish only that part of the folk-lore of the tribe which he had collected in the original, with translations. These were published by the American Ethnological Society under the title "Fox Texts" (Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1907, 383 pages). Dr. Jones, who was himself a member of the Fox tribe, was able to write down these tales from the lips of the older members of his tribe, and his perfect command of the language allowed him to take the record without detaining the speakers by trying to follow their dictation. For this reason his texts belong to the best records of American folk-lore that are available. It is a matter of deep regret that it was not given to him to complete and publish his important studies on the Fox tribe. In later years, Dr. Jones carried on extended investigations for the Carnegie Institution, the results of which it is understood he left in such condition that they can be published. In him we lose a faithful and enthusiastic student, who promised to become one of the most fruitful contributors to the science of American folk-lore.

J. D. E. SCHMELTZ. — We regret to announce the death of Dr. J. D. E. Schmeltz, Director of the State Museum of Ethnography at Leyden, Holland. Dr. Schmeltz began his work in the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, whence he was called to Leyden in 1884 as assistant of Dr. Serrurier. Later on he became Director of the Museum, and the development of the collections during the last twenty years has been due to his untiring energies. He was the founder and editor of the "International Archives of Ethnography."

LOCAL MEETINGS

MISSOURI BRANCH

THE Missouri Folk-Lore Society held its Third Annual Meeting at the State University, Columbia, March 12 and 13. Papers were read as follows: "The Werewolf Superstition," by Dr. Caroline Stewart, Columbia; "The Origin of Ballads," by Professor H. M. Belden, Columbia; "Life Among the Arizona Indians," by Dr. F. A. Golder, Columbia; "Messiah Beliefs of the American Indians," by Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph; "The Sacred Fire," by Professor A. O. Lovejoy, Columbia; "An English Christmas Play," by Miss Antoinette Taylor, St. Louis County; "Missouri Play-Parties," by Mrs. L. D. Ames, Columbia; "Georgia Plantation Songs," by Miss Colquitt Newell, Columbia. The officers for the ensuing year are: *President*, Miss Mary A. Owen (St. Joseph); *Vice-Presidents*, Dr. W. L. Campbell (Kansas City), Principal J. R. Powell (St. Louis), Miss Mary A. Wadsworth (Columbia); *Secretary*, Professor H. M. Belden (Columbia); *Treasurer*, Mrs. L. D. Ames (Columbia); *Directors*, Miss Jennie M. A. Jones (St. Louis), Mr. W. S. Johnson (Tuscumbia), Dr. F. A. Golder (Columbia).

NEW YORK BRANCH

On April 22 the New York Branch met at Earl Hall, Columbia University. The Chairman called the attention of those present to the loss recently sustained by the American Folk-Lore Society through the murder of Dr. William Jones in the Philippines and the demise of Professor George R. Carpenter of Columbia University, who had just become a member of the New York Branch. Resolutions of condolence were committed to the Secretary for transmission to the families of these members. Dr. R. H. Lowie then addressed the meeting on "History and Mythology." The lecturer pointed out instances in which tradition had kept alive the memory of historical events, but arrived at the conclusion that it was practically hopeless to found history on oral tradition. The paper was discussed by Dr. Grinnell, Professor Joseph Jacobs, and Mr. Hagar.

On May 20 the fourth meeting of the Branch was called to order in Earl Hall. Mr. L. J. Frachtenberg read a paper on "Some Persian Superstitions," in which he called attention to some world-wide beliefs coexisting with Zoroastrianism in ancient Persia. The paper was discussed by Professor Boas, Miss Natalie Curtis, and Dr. Lowie. At the recommendation of the Council, the Chairman appointed several of the members to report on certain new publications on folk-lore and related subjects at the fall meetings. The society then adjourned for the summer months.

BOOK REVIEW

THE PEOPLE OF THE POLAR NORTH. A Record by KNUD RASMUSSEN.
Compiled from Danish Originals, and edited by G. HERRING. Illustrations by Count Harald Moltke. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1908.

This book is a translation and adaptation of the two Danish books, "Nye Mennesker" and "Under Nordenvindens Svøbe," two of the best books on the Eastern Eskimo that have appeared in a long time. The editor underestimates previous work when saying that "the Eskimos as a race are an unexplored and unexploited people," and does an injustice to an eminent scholar when claiming that Rink, our best authority on the Greenland Eskimo, did not know the Greenlandic language; but he has put ethnologists under obligations by making the book accessible to the English-speaking public. The first of the two books had been translated before into German, but with the omission of some of the interesting traditions recorded by Rasmussen. The first part of the book is taken up with graphic descriptions of Eskimo life, which, while true to nature in their essential elements, still contain enough of the individuality of the author to make them one of the best available descriptions of Eskimo life from a literary point of view, but require at least a slight amount of caution on the part of the ethnologist. The difference of conception comes out clearly when these descriptions are compared to Mrs. Signe Rink's simple records of Eskimo life as given by the Eskimo themselves in her book "Kajakmänner." The second part, which contains primitive views of life among the Smith Sound Eskimo, is replete with valuable ethnological material, which shows clearly the close resemblance between the beliefs of the Smith Sound people and those of the west coast of Baffin Land. The tales given in Part III are also quite in accord with those known in other parts of Arctic America. A number of animal fables deserve particular mention. These fables, which are so characteristic of the folk-lore of the Eskimo and of some of the northern Indian tribes of America, have received some attention since 1883, and samples have been collected from all parts of the Arctic coast. A few of the tales given in this collection are identical with those recorded by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in 1899 in this *Journal*, and collected from the mouths of a number of Eskimo who visited New York. The second division of the book is devoted to a translation of Rasmussen's descriptions of West Greenland, which in character are similar to his descriptions from Smith Sound; while the last part is devoted to a description of the east coast of Greenland, and contains some interesting notes on customs, shamanism, and a few folk-tales. This material is of value as supplementing Holm's work on Angmagssalik. The English edition contains a considerably larger number of illustrations than either the Danish or the German editions. The illustrations are from sketches by Count Harald Moltke. A comparison of the folk-lore material contained in the German edition of the book and of the folk-lore of Baffin Land will be found in vol. xv of the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," pp. 567, 568.

F. Boas.

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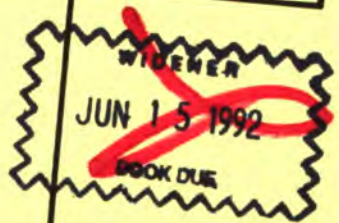
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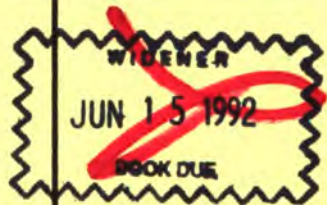


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